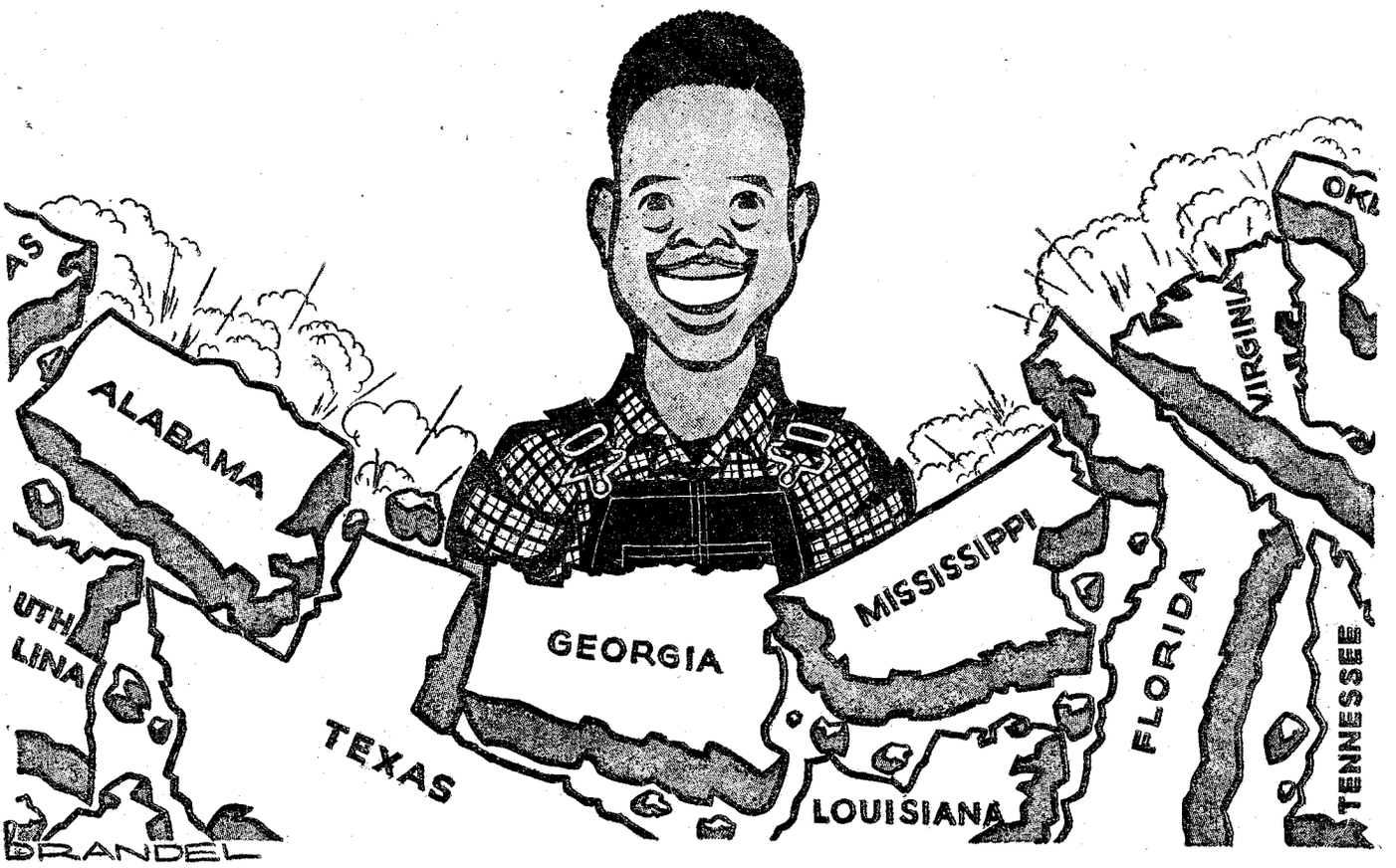
THE Nation

September 27, 1952

Southern Negro: 1952

Warning to Ike and the Dixiecrats

A Special Issue



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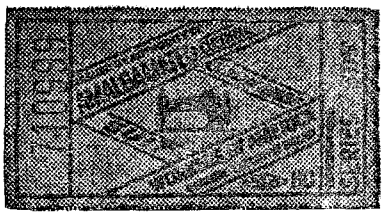

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THE Nation

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The Southern Negro: 1952

IN ITS own way the South has long been the key to American politics, although it's influence has fluctuated. This year it is once again a major battleground in the fight for electoral votes. At both national conventions the South was the center of attention. Since then both candidates have stressed its importance, General Eisenhower hoping to break the solid South, Governor Stevenson to preserve it intact for the Democrats.

Both parties, however, seem to think of the South solely in terms of white voters; have in effect been bidding for the support of the white South. At the same time each is acutely aware of the importance of the Northern Negro vote. Accordingly each has sought to work out platform formulas and campaign appeals which will make it possible to win both the Southern white vote and the Northern Negro vote, for the party that bids too high for the support of the white South is likely to alienate the Northern Negro, and vice versa. Preoccupation with this dilemma has obscured another factor in the equation which may well prove to be decisive—the Southern Negro vote.

In our view the emergence of a significant Negro vote in the Southern states will prove to be one of the major political developments of this decade. The forward movement of the New Deal was checked in 1938 by Roosevelt's gallant but unsuccessful attempt to purge Senator George. Roosevelt had found that his victories usually carried into Congress, and into key committee chairmanships, the high-seniority Southerners who were the most implacable enemies of his program. Since the late 1930's, as the Washington *Post* has pointed out (August 24, 1952), "no Administration has had any real control over the Senate. . . . That control has rested with a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats." But great changes have occurred in the South, and the New Deal may win in this decade the campaign that Roosevelt launched in 1938. And the force that may eventually upset the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition in Congress and bring a new vitality to the politics of the South is the Southern Negro vote.

The importance of the Northern Negro vote is generally recognized. In the key Northern states, where the difference between the Democratic and Republican vote is rarely more than 500,000, Negro ballots can be decisive in a close Presidential election. In the West, too, the Negro vote must now be reckoned with. In 1940 only 170,706 Negroes were living in the Western states; today the number would be closer to 600,000. As shown by a study of local precinct returns, the Negro vote accounted for President Truman's slight margin of victory in California in 1948. Migration to the North and West has been the principal means by which Southern Negroes have won the ballot, though since the Supreme Court's 1944 decision invalidating the white primary many who stayed home have also been voting.

In the South, where politics are in a state of flux, the Negro has won a strong strategic position. The wedge that Roosevelt attempted to drive between the Dixiecrats and the New Deal Democrats is now firmly imbedded. In nearly every state the Democrats are split from top to bottom, from the statehouse machines to the county-courthouse rings. Everywhere the same bitter struggle for power is being waged between the older tidewater politicians, acting as the surrogates of Republican big business, and the "regular," or New Deal, Democrats. By a curious irony, the Negro's fight for the ballot has taken the form of an attempt to enter the Democratic primary. Thus Southern Negroes are coming to hold the balance of power between the Dixiecrats and the New Deal Democrats.

Other political cleavages in the South have given additional weight to the Negro vote. For example, the Dixiecrat leaders, who are basically economic conservatives, find themselves increasingly in conflict with the Dixiecrat rank and file, which is made up of race-crazy, intractable elements, prone to violence. To the extent that the bourbons indulge the taste of their underlings for dynamite bombings, they run the risk of driving the more moderate whites into the camp of the New Deal Democrats. The rough stuff of former years has become

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risky these days: witness the recent kidnaping convictions in North Carolina. Indeed, the switch from lynchings to dynamite bombings as a technique of intimidation is directly related to the circumstance that lynchings are much more dangerous—to the lynchers—than they used to be. Since 1949 there have been only seven lynchings in the South but more than fifty dynamite bombings.

In 1948 four Southern states bolted the Democratic Party; this year the Dixiecrats are more cautious. To be sure, they are still around. As one Southern leader puts it, "They're like water moccasins—they're still under the log." For one thing, General Eisenhower is the type of Republican nominee they could publicly support if necessary; in several states the Democratic Party organizations have all but urged voting for Eisenhower. But there is another reason for their embittered frustration. Post-convention surveys show that Southern Negroes, by and large, will vote for Stevenson and Sparkman despite their lack of enthusiasm for Sparkman. Furthermore, an Associated Press survey of twelve Southern states indicates that in an extremely close race the outcome in several of them could conceivably be determined by the Negro vote. In Virginia, Florida, and Texas, the states in which the Republicans have the best chance, Negroes will vote in considerable numbers.

IN nearly every Southern state a new industrial or managerial middle class, living chiefly in urban centers and largely recruited from the North, will vote Republican and is trying to build "real" Republican organizations. Thus the corrupt vest-pocket Republican machines and their "post-office" henchmen are being replaced, here and there, by organizations staffed by young Republicans of the country-club and service-club variety. Today the Southern Negro is a major factor in the Democratic Party; tomorrow he may hold the balance of power between the parties.

Finally there are serious divisions in the Southern Negro voting organizations which almost universally function outside the Democratic Party. The college-educated leaders of a younger generation have split with the venal old-style politicoes. Formerly the Negro vote, in those areas where Negroes voted, was often manipulated by white factions. Let Virginia Durr, one of the early leaders in the movement to eliminate the poll tax in the Southern states, describe what has been happening:

> Today there is one very significant change in the picture. The Negro vote in the South is not being used by any white faction, it is not for sale by corrupt bosses, it is not a manipulated vote. It is today an independent force, controlled and united behind Negro leaders. These leaders are educated men, professional men, men of courage and conviction. Their names are well known in their states, and command respect, as they are known to be both incorruptible and intelligent. . . . They are middle-class men with middle-class points of view. . . . They know that in America's desire and effort to win the allegiance of the Asiatic and African peoples, its Achilles' heel is its treatment of the Negro. They also know it is votes that count, and they are the spearhead of the campaign to get out the Negro vote. . . . So far this crusade is confined to the small upper group of Negroes in the South; that is its weakness. The overwhelming mass of Southern Negroes simply do not have the time, the money, or the knowledge to become voters; but above all they do not see the importance of being voters. This is the job to be done: arouse the great body of Southern Negroes to the importance of voting. For the time being it looks as if the Negro vote in the South would only be large enough to be used for bargaining purposes, but that will mean a great deal.

It will not be long before the great mass of Southern Negroes recognize the importance of voting. In community after community, state after state, the New Deal, or regular, Democrats find themselves subject to convergent pressures—from new Republican competition, from the Dixiecrats, from Negro voters. If they are to obtain key committee chairmanships in Congress and control federal patronage in their own states, the New Deal Democrats realize that the party must win nationally, which means that it must be able to carry the Negro vote in the North and West. This realization, as well as the logic of the local political situation, dictates the wisdom of capturing the Southern Negro vote as a means of offsetting a possible defection of white Democrats to the Dixiecrats.

Once committed to this strategy, however, the New Deal Democrats must encourage greater Negro registration. As this increases, they can afford to take a bolder line on civil rights. Today they voice this line only in conversation in the North; tomorrow they may be voicing it publicly in the South. Already they are beginning to grant minor concessions to their Negro constituents: street paving, more street lights, better housing and health services, better schools. Every concession is another demonstration to the Negroes of why it is important to vote. The tempo of enfranchisement is also directly related to the number of Negroes voting: the larger the number of Negroes who register, the easier it becomes for others.

NEGROES have been spurred to fight for the ballot by their grim determination to end segregation in the public schools. The weapon they must use is the lawsuit, and lawsuits imply organization. The trial of the famous Clarendon County, South Carolina, suit in the spring of 1951, to determine the legality of segregated public schools, was an outstanding event in the history of Southern race relations. Hundreds of Negroes lined up outside the courthouse hours before court convened so that they might hear Thurgood Marshall cross-examine

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white school officials and present expert testimony demolishing the myth of white supremacy.

Carter Wesley of the Houston *Informer* has written:

> Take it any way you like, you will find that the gains Negroes have made in education have meant more to Negroes themselves, and have affected the whites more, than any other gains. Everywhere the Dixiecrat is aroused over the education question. The significance of the Negro's gain in education does not lie in the schools that have been opened; it lies in the fact that the Negro has pushed into a field or a plane where the white man must accept him as an equal, and it lies also in the fact that the field is open permanently.

Of the major barriers to the Southern Negro's enfranchisement only the "white primary" has been removed, and vestiges of that remain despite the Supreme Court decision. Five states still exact a poll tax. And the refusal to reapportion representation in state legislatures —no Southern state has been reapportioned since 1910 —continues to make possible a seniority system that is used to control state legislatures as effectively as it does Congressional committees. In Georgia the county-unit system still gives two-thirds of the votes to one-third of the population in certain counties. The South's archaic form of county government persists unchanged. In the 100 counties of Virginia, the 159 of Georgia, and the 254 of Texas tight little ruling coteries are intact despite the fact that half of their functions as job holders have been abolished.

Social change will finally engulf these anachronisms. With cotton no longer king, the South cannot much longer remain solid. Hence the time is ripe for an all-out assault on segregation, and this must start with the fight to register the Negro voter. Negro suffrage will end Negro segregation, for segregation is simply an elaborate scheme by which the ballot has been denied to the Southern Negro despite constitutional guaranties which entitle him to it. Nor will a one-party South long survive when the majority of Southern Negroes vote. Today two-thirds of the total Negro vote is cast by the one-third of the Negro population that lives in the North and West. When Negroes are able to vote in the South in the same ratio as they now vote in the North and West, the liberal movement may experience another upsurge similar to the New Deal.

The Negro Vote in the South: 1952

BY HENRY LEE MOON

New York

SOUTHERN Negro leaders, long excluded from effective participation in politics, are trying to raise to 2,000,000 the number of Southern Negroes qualified to vote in the Presidential election in November. This will be more than double the number registered to vote in the 1950 elections. Since nearly 6,000,000 Negroes should vote in the South, the goal is unbecomingly modest. Nevertheless, in view of existing conditions, its attainment would introduce an important new factor into American politics.

The hope of the Southern Negro to play a larger role in the politics of the region stems from the outlawing of the iniquitous "white primary" by the United States Supreme Court in April, 1944. This historic decision opened the way to mass Negro voting in the South for the first time since the collapse of Reconstruction. Reactionary elements rallied of course to resist its implementation in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. The South Carolina legislature, on the demand of Governor Olin Johnston, eliminated all references to the primary from the statute book in a move designed to permit the Democratic Party of the state to formulate and enforce its own rules as a private lily-white club. This subterfuge was scotched by Federal Judge J. Waties Waring in a notable decision handed down on July 12, 1947. The redoubtable South Carolinian, repudiating the *mores* of his native state, affirmed the right of Negroes to participate in "the only material and realistic elections" held in the state and excoriated the trick by which the politicians had sought to subvert the Constitution.

The white primary was the most effective and discriminatory disfranchising instrument devised by the white supremacists. The poll tax kept more whites than Negroes away from the ballot box; a steadily increasing number of Negro citizens were able to pay it. Likewise, more and more Negroes could pass the literacy tests when fairly administered. But the color test was one they could not meet.

Although total disfranchisement of the Southern Negro was never achieved, there was ample justification for Albert Bushnell Hart's observation in 1906 that "in the essential quality of a vote that may go to convert a minority into a majority, the Negroes have for years been hopelessly disfranchised." In 1940 Ralph J. Bunche

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estimated that there were only 250,000 Negro voters in the South. Two years after the Supreme Court decision the number had more than doubled. Resistance, however, has continued. In Alabama a voters'-qualification amendment, adopted by some 300 votes in a statewide referendum last December, is impeding but not entirely blocking the expansion of the Negro vote. In Georgia a purge of the registration books has cut the Negro vote but by no means eliminated it.

Trickery and intimidation are still employed, particularly in rural districts, to prevent Negroes from registering and voting. Last April the N. A. A. C. P., submitting affidavits, complained to the Department of Justice that Negro applicants for registration in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, were asked such questions as "How many bubbles in a bar of soap?" and "What is due process of law?" John Lester Mitchell, one of three Negroes who had filed suit through the N. A. A. C. P. in Federal District Court seeking the right to register, was shot and killed by a deputy sheriff in Opelousas, Louisiana, in November of last year. Harry T. Moore was killed by a dynamite bomb on Christmas Day in Florida. Isiah Nixon was murdered in Georgia in 1948 because he defied the orders of white men to stay away from the polls, and D. V. Carter, a Georgia N. A. A. C. P. leader, was brutally assaulted for encouraging Negroes to register and vote. On May 27 of this year, when Florida voters were to select delegates to the Democratic National Convention, a bomb was exploded at a polling place in a predominantly Negro precinct in Jacksonville, and an unexploded dynamite bomb was found in the home of a Negro political leader. The result was a heavier turnout in the precinct than that for the May 6 Presidential-preference primary.

The rebirth of Negro voting in the South may prove to be of vast significance not only to the Negro and the South but to the nation as a whole. Eventually it may make possible the restoration of the two-party system in that region. Already there are signs of the emergence of a substantial opposition to the present Democratic domination. While the proponents of this revolt clothe themselves in racist garb, their motives are chiefly economic. The "white supremacy" raiment is donned to confuse the "poor whites" whose real economic interests are identical with those of the Negro masses.

The Montgomery, Alabama, *Advertiser*, which has been campaigning for the reestablishment of the two-party system, advises Southern whites to "take a lesson from the Negro—who had the wits and get-up-and-go to forsake the party of his fathers, to which his attachment was more profound and rational than that of the white man to the Democratic Party—and be free in their minds to defy the tyranny of a mere ballot label and vote Republican when that is indicated."

ALTHOUGH in the long run the growing Negro vote will spell the doom of the race-baiting demagogues, an immediate result in some places has been a revival of the hoary danger cry: "Nigger, Nigger, Nigger!" When the Negro vote in Georgia reached the 150,000 mark in 1946, the late Eugene Talmadge used the slogan effectively among the "wool hats" and aided by the discriminatory county-unit system won the election. Similarly, this tribal rallying cry was raised to reelect the late Senator Theodore Bilbo in Mississippi in 1948, and to defeat Senators Claude Pepper in Florida and Frank Graham in North Carolina in 1950. It was used last May to defeat Hubert E. Olive, gubernatorial candidate, in the Democratic primary of North Carolina.

Nevertheless, the Negro vote is being solicited by present-day Southern politicians as eagerly as by their Northern counterparts. Even men who have used their positions to block Negro progress toward full citizenship have surreptitiously sought Negro support. Senator Russell, in his campaign for the Democratic nomination for President, is reported to have invited three leading Atlanta Negroes to his office for an off-the-record conference to explain his views on F. E. P. C. and other civil-rights issues. Shortly afterward the organized Negro Democrats of the South, meeting in Atlanta, disavowed any hostility toward a Southern candidate as such and indicated their willingness to support "a truly liberal Southerner who faces squarely the obligation of the government to protect and extend the rights of all its citizens." However, N. A. A. C. P. leaders who were attending a political-action institute in Atlanta at the same time pointedly observed in a published statement that "the inclusion of any such Southerner as Senator Russell or Senator Kerr on the ticket of either party will alienate not only the Negro vote but also that of other racial and religious minorities, of independent liberals, and of many trade unionists."

In many Southern communities Negroes have withheld public indorsement of candidates they favored out of fear that this support would lose their candidates white votes. There have been instances, as in the 1950 primary in North Carolina, of faked Negro indorsements being circulated among white voters in order to defeat a candidate thought to favor Negroes.

Southern Negroes are frequently accused of bloc voting, and in many cases the returns from predominantly Negro precincts validate the charge. What is sinister, however, is not the bloc voting itself but the fact that Negroes are forced to resort to it. Eugene

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Talmadge complained in 1946 that 90 per cent of the Negro vote had gone to a single candidate in a field of five running for governor of Georgia. He failed to observe that his race-baiting had driven Negro voters to support the candidate with the best chance of defeating him. This alarm, spread by anti-Negro politicians, leaves the Columbus, Georgia, *Ledger* unperturbed. "Who blames the farmers," it asks, "for supporting candidates favorable to their cause? Or labor for supporting men sympathetic to that group? Or industrialists for lobbying and supporting candidates most likely to protect their interests? . . . If the so-called bloc is merely a unification of racial or economic or geographical groups to vote solidly for a candidate who will best promote their own interests, we call that intelligent planning."

The great difficulty of the Southern Negro voter is the limited choice offered by the candidates. Come election time, Southern "liberals" are for the most part indistinguishable from reactionaries on the race issue. All pay homage to "white supremacy" in one fashion or another. Dr. Homer Rainey, the gubernatorial candidate of Texas liberals in 1946, even advocated segregated polling places. Senator Claude Pepper and Dr. Frank Graham both swung far to the right when assailed for liberal views on race. In this dilemma Negro voters usually support those who claim to be liberals in the hope that, once elected, they will refuse to join the rabid race-baiters. At the N. A. A. C. P.-sponsored political-action institute in Atlanta this spring representative Negroes agreed that if the choice is between equally vicious race-baiters, the best policy is to vote against the incumbent, particularly in Congressional contests, so as to elect a man who will lack the seniority necessary for committee assignments. Another good criterion is the extent to which the candidate has supported social-welfare and labor legislation. As workers, Southern Negroes tend to vote for candidates who favor such legislation even though they evade the civil-rights issue.

THE Negro has returned to the arena not only as voter but also as a candidate for local public office. Since 1947 Negroes have been elected to city councils in Winston-Salem, Greensboro, and Fayetteville, North Carolina; Richmond, Virginia; and Nashville, Tennessee. In San Antonio, Texas, a Negro physician was elected to the Board of Higher Education. Negroes have run for places on the council in more than forty Southern cities since 1944. The variety of offices to which Negroes aspire will certainly increase. The last Negro to be elected to Congress from the South was George H. White of North Carolina in 1898. It is unlikely that another half-century will elapse before a Southern Negro is again elected to the House.

While white-supremacy demagogues have inveighed against the reentry of the Negro into politics, many of the more enlightened white Southerners see it as a boon to liberalism and good government. Others accept it as inevitable and would interpose no obstacle to the free exercise of the franchise by Negro citizens. The *Arkansas Gazette* of Little Rock says: "No politician can seriously believe that the South will ever return to the system of legal and extra-legal disfranchisement under which a fourth of its people were denied an effective voice in government." Dr. V. O. Key, Jr., in his authoritative study "Southern Politics," expresses the belief that "the underlying Southern liberalism will undoubtedly be mightily strengthened" by the assimilation of the Negro into political life, since "the Negro allies himself with liberal factions whenever they exist." Ralph McGill, the liberal editor of the Atlanta *Constitution*, observes: "In not a single instance have they [the Negroes] voted in any number on the side of bad government or in behalf of racketeers. They have voted each time with the reform, or so-called 'better elements.' " Last May, when for the first time since Reconstruction Negroes were registered in St. Mary's Parish, Louisiana, the local Franklin *Banner-Tribune* saw "no reason under the sun why, with proper education, occupation, and understanding, the citizens of all races in this parish can't march forward to a new and greater day."

Move Back!

Supreme Court rulings take time to become the law of the land when they have to do with human rights down South. Six years ago the court ruled out segregation in interstate bus travel, but Jim Crow rides on. When a Negro buys a reserved seat on a Greyhound bus from New York to Miami, he may be able to hang onto it until he arrives in Jacksonville, Florida. Atlantic Greyhound then gives way to Florida Greyhound, and the new driver asks Negroes who hold reserved seats not in the rear of the bus to move back "in accordance with Florida law." If a passenger refuses, the driver calls a police officer. If he persists in clinging to his seat he is arrested on a charge of "disorderly conduct" or "disturbing the peace."

It has long been the custom of Southern bus drivers to deliver passengers who refuse to be segregated to the tender mercies of the first police officer they encounter. But recently this technique was refined too. O. S. Caesar of Chicago, president of Greyhound, has ruled that henceforth no company employee is to cause the arrest of any passenger; the new policy was prompted by the fact that Greyhound had lost a large number of suits brought for false arrest. It should not be imagined, however, that Greyhound drivers have been stripped of their powers to enforce segregation. The new order provides that in summoning a police officer they shall merely "relate" the "facts" and leave the question of disposition of the passenger to the discretion of the officer.

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Accurate figures on the size of the Southern Negro vote are almost impossible to obtain, largely because of the decentralization of registration. A survey of eleven Southern states made by the N. A. A. C. P. indicates that some 900,000 Negroes were qualified to vote at the end of 1951—a sizable increase over the C. I. O.-P. A. C. estimate of 750,000 in 1948. While there have been setbacks, notably in Georgia, the general expansion of the vote has been steady. The estimated number of registered Negro voters in twelve Southern states as of mid-August is given in the following table, compiled from reports of persons working in registration drives. While registration has ended in some of these states, the books are still open in Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

Alabama	50,000	Oklahoma	60,000
Arkansas	60,000	South Carolina	130,000
Florida	150,000	Tennessee	155,000
Georgia	125,000	Texas	200,000
Louisiana	130,000	Virginia	70,000
Mississippi	40,000		
North Carolina	97,500	Total	1,267,500

The Negro's Growing Political Power

BY R. H. BRISBANE

Atlanta

THE Southern Negro vote has been growing steadily since 1944, and its power must today be estimated in terms of larger issues than those being raised within the South itself. In the near future this vote will become an important supplement to the balance of power which Negroes in other parts of the country already hold in national elections.

The possibilities of this balance of power were recognized as far back as 1912. During the election of that year Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and others emphasized that Negroes should use their vote as an independent force in national elections. The same counsel was given in the elections of 1916, 1920, and 1924. In 1928 the returns of the Smith-Hoover contest indicated that the balance-of-power doctrine had taken root. Hoover received about 75 per cent of the Negro vote in Republican strongholds like Chicago and Philadelphia, but this support was an indication of the ability of the Thompson and Vare machines to hold the line rather than of a preference for Hoover. In localities that lacked strong Republican organizations, Hoover received from half to less than half of the black vote. Of the 75,000 ballots cast in the four Negro districts of Harlem, Smith received nearly 1,000 more than Hoover—and in 1928 Harlem was still nominally Republican.

There was no great rush of Negroes from the Republican to the Democratic Party in the Presidential election of 1932. Generally speaking, the shift was the same as in previous national elections since the beginning of the Northern migration of the Negro. Republican machines steadily lost Negro votes and Democratic machines gained them. The big change came, as it did for whites, in 1936. A major cause, of course, was the Negro's esteem for President Roosevelt, who had shown more consideration for the race than had any Chief Executive since Lincoln. A second factor was the demise of powerful Republican organizations in several Northern cities after 1932. Negro Republicans, seeking additional relief funds or relief jobs in these cities, had to call upon the Democratic bosses. A third was the fact that the newly powerful Democrats greatly improved upon Republican methods of dispensing patronage. No longer were a few traditional "Negro positions" shuttled back and forth within a clique of Negro bigwigs. Instead, the numerous New Deal agencies provided careers for many bright young Negroes fresh from the graduate schools of the big universities. Locally, the Democrats spread their largess to Negroes as widely as possible.

Today the Negro holds a potential balance of power in national, state, and local elections in perhaps seventeen states. Nine of these—New York, California, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Michigan, New Jersey, Illinois, Ohio, and Missouri—have a total of 223 votes in the Electoral College as against the 266 necessary to elect a President. These states are the ones which have the largest concentration of Negro citizens of voting age outside the South.

If Negroes are to exercise the balance of power, from 60 to 75 per cent of their votes must be delivered in blocs. It would be interesting to know just how often and in what states the Negro vote has been decisive in the choice of Presidential electors. Before 1932 Illinois was the only state in which Negroes voted in blocs large enough to affect the outcome. It was from Chicago, one recalls, that the first Negro was sent to Congress in this century. In 1936 the Roosevelt plurality in states with large populations was so great that the Negro vote was

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a negligible factor. In 1940 and 1944 Negroes carried a half-dozen states for Roosevelt. While it is impossible to ascertain the exact number of Negro votes cast in any state or municipality—statistics being usually compiled from returns of districts or wards with heavy Negro concentration—certain facts are known about the 1944 national election: (1) Negroes contributed at least 99,000 votes to Roosevelt's 105,431 plurality in Pennsylvania; (2) they contributed no fewer than 190,000 votes to his 316,591 plurality in New York; (3) the three Negro wards in Chicago gave Roosevelt 121,000 of his Illinois plurality of 140,165; (4) in Maryland at least 150,000 Negroes voted for him, although his plurality was only 22,541; (5) in Missouri and New Jersey his Negro vote equaled his plurality over Dewey.

In the much closer election of 1948 the Negro vote played the same decisive role. It is well known that President Truman won this election by rolling up pluralities in California, Illinois, and Ohio. What is not so well known, however, is who gave him these pluralities. The records show (1) that of the 100,000 Negroes who went to the polls in California 70,000 voted for Truman—Truman's margin was 17,865; (2) that of the 119,000 votes cast in the three Negro wards in Chicago 85,000 went to Truman—Truman's margin in Illinois was 33,612; (3) that in Ohio 130,000 of 200,000 Negroes voted for Truman, although his plurality was only 7,107.

Thus without the support of the great majority of Negro voters in these three states Mr. Truman would not be President today. Indeed, since 1940 it has become clear to Republicans as well as Democrats that no relatively close national election can be won without the aid of the Negro vote. It has also become clear that Negroes must be appealed to en masse and won en masse. Their votes can no longer be sold and delivered by Negro party hacks.

SO FAR I have been discussing the political power of Negroes in the North. But let us not forget that the disfranchised Negro has had strong if negative influence on politics in the South. The struggle to exclude the Negro voter has been the major preoccupation of Southern politicians since Reconstruction days—a preoccupation that has been the main cause of the social, political, and cultural lag from which this great area suffers. Today, however, Negro disfranchisement in Dixie is being successfully attacked; at the end of 1949 there were nearly a million qualified Negro voters in the South. And if the present rate of enfranchisement continues, Southern Negroes in the next decade may cast from five to six million votes in national elections.

What does the Negro intend to do with his growing political power? To put it briefly, he intends to obtain full equality and the elimination of Jim Crow. In this purpose Negroes are united as never before. Whenever they demand "equal rights now!" they are invariably told, "Be patient; we must move slowly. Remember, you have made wonderful progress in three generations; don't upset the apple cart." This may have been a wise policy in 1900, but in the second half of the twentieth century it has shown its futility.

To reactionaries living in a dead past, to those who profit from race hate, any progress in race relations is too fast. To persons striving to make democracy a living reality, the present pace is all too slow. The doctrine of gradualism finds scant acceptance among American Negroes today. While they recognize that all the barriers against their race cannot be leveled overnight by executive fiat, court decisions, or legislative action, they are convinced that good intentions and good advice are not enough. The balance of power they hold will therefore remain a potent political factor until the achievement of full rights for the Negro American renders it obsolete.

In his excellent two-volume study of the Negro problem in America, Gunnar Myrdal says that there will never be a "Negro Party as such in the United States."

This is probably true. But whether the Negro will continue to exert his political strength through one or both of our major political parties is another question. I do not mean that the Negro in the foreseeable future may move to the extreme right or the extreme left. I mean that the Negro's eighteen-year support of the Democratic Party will not continue indefinitely if the party's present make-up is preserved. When the long overdue changes are made, the Negro will use his power in the party to further labor liberalism and progressivism.

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THE BATTLE FOR THE BALLOT

IN APRIL, 1944, the Supreme Court of the United States removed the last vestige of constitutional sanction for the so-called "white primary," which had been used so effectively to prevent Southern Negroes from voting in significant numbers in the period from 1890 to 1944. In this decision—*Smith* vs. *Allwright*—a majority of the court, through Justice Reed, said:

> It may now be taken as a postulate that the right to vote in such a primary for the nomination of candidates without discrimination by the state, like the right to vote in a general election, is a right secured by the Constitution. By the terms of the Fifteenth Amendment that right may not be abridged by any state on account of race. Under our Constitution the great privilege of the ballot may not be denied a man by the state because of his color. . . .
>
> The United States is a constitutional democracy. Its organic law grants to all citizens a right to participate in the choice of elected officials without restriction by any state because of race. This grant to the people of the opportunity for choice is not to be nullified by a state through casting its electoral process in a form which permits a private organization to practice racial discrimination in the election. . . .

Having obtained sweeping vindication of their right to the ballot, including the right to participate in the Democratic primary, what restrictions have Southern Negroes encountered since April, 1944, in their efforts to qualify as voters? To what extent do local and state officials still attempt to interfere with the exercise of a right guaranteed by the Constitution and specifically confirmed by the Supreme Court? With the aid of the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and from its own files, *The Nation* has compiled the following list of "incidents" which have occurred since the Supreme Court decided *Smith* vs. *Allwright*. Admittedly incomplete, this "casualty list" tells its own story.

1944

April 13: Columbia, S. C.—Governor Olin D. Johnston issued a proclamation calling for a special session of the General Assembly to wipe from the code all laws pertaining to Democratic primary elections in order to "maintain white supremacy in South Carolina." There was no record of Negroes voting in the Democratic primaries.

May 2: Mobile, Ala.—Ten Negroes left without voting in the Democratic primary when they were met at the polling place by the deputy sheriff, who told them the primary was restricted to white electors.

June 7: Atlanta, Ga.—A subcommittee of the Democratic State Executive Committee ruled that the Georgia primary would be restricted to white voters and directed chairmen of county executive committees accordingly.

August 24: Columbus, Ga.—Primus King filed suit against the Muscogee County Democratic Executive Committee. King declared he had been denied the right to vote in the July primary "solely because of race and color" and asked $5,000 damages.

1945

April 10: Birmingham, Ala.—Pastoran Vinson, R. N., was denied the right to vote after meeting the qualifications. Miss Vinson filed suit asking $5,000 damages and an injunction restraining the Jefferson County Board of Registrars.

July 24: St. John Baptist Parish, La.—Edward Hall brought charges that T. J. Nagel, registrar of St. John Baptist Parish, denied him the right to vote in the 1944 primary, subjecting him to "unreasonable tests not required of white electors."

August 1: Chesterfield, S. C.—Chairman of the Board of Registration for Chesterfield County refused to register a single one of the Negroes applying.

September 1: Tampa, Fla.—Registered Negroes were refused the right to vote in the Tampa city primary.

September 5: Atlanta, Ga.—Registered Negroes attempting to vote in the primary were told "this is a white primary." Appeal was made to United States Attorney General Tom Clark on behalf of the 4,000 registered voters denied the ballot.

1946

January 25: Birmingham, Ala.—100 Negro veterans denied the right to register for "lack of ability to interpret the Constitution." Alabama state constitution and statutes make no such requirement.

March: Savannah, Ga.—John I. Cabell, Chatham County tax collector, required Negroes attempting to register to submit a complete statement of the taxes they had paid on property during the past seven years. The group filed suit against Cabell's discriminatory practices.

June: Spaulding Co., Ga.—C. R. Fossett admitted purges of 180 Negro voters because of their "handwriting." C. E. McLendon objected to the purging of 800 Negro voters. Judge C. H. Dukes dismissed him from his post of chairman of the Board of Registrars, to "expedite the hearings."

June 12: Brandon, Miss.—Etoy Fletcher, veteran of World War II, beaten and flogged with a wire cable and threatened with death for attempting to register.

June 22: Jackson, Miss.—Theodore G. Bilbo in a radio address urged "every red-blooded American in Mississippi to use every means at their command" to prevent Negroes from voting.

June, July: Georgia—Wholesale purge of Negro voters launched in forty counties throughout Georgia. At the end of the first week in June an estimated 550 applicants were disqualified in Sumter County; in Muscogee County, approximately 10 per cent of applicants were purged; in Fulton, about 100. Mrs. T. E. Sams and B. F. Thornton of Ware County resigned from the Board of Registrars with the challenging of 500 to 600 Negro voters. Vaughn Terrell of Rome, Ga., challenged the names of 150 Negroes registered to vote and said he would file contests at the rate of 150 a day until all the 1,500 Negro voters were challenged. A total of approximately 22,000 Negro voters were challenged.

July 10: Swainsboro, Ga.—Eugene Talmadge, candidate for governor: "Wise Negroes will stay away from the white man's ballot boxes on July 17."

July 16: Fitzgerald, Ga.—Notices tacked on Negro churches: "The first nigger who votes in Georgia will be a dead nigger."

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July 20: Taylor Co., Ga.—Macio Snipes, veteran of World War II who had voted in the July 17 primary, was dragged from his home and shot to death by four whites. A sign was posted on a nearby Negro church, "The first negro to vote will never vote again."

July: Athens, Tenn.—Tom Gillespie was shot by a white when he attempted to vote.

August 3: Spartanburg, S. C.—Fourteen registered Negroes were told that Democratic Party rules did not permit them to qualify for primary nominations.

1947

January 27: Macon, Ga.—Kenmore Burns, chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee of Macon, declared that Negroes would not be permitted to vote in the city primary but that all white voters, including Republicans and Socialists, could vote. "Ours is not a Democratic white primary, but strictly a white primary."

1948

March 1: Wrightsville, Ga.—Klan staged a parade and cross-burning on the eve of the Democratic primary. The following day no Negroes voted.

July, August: Georgia—Widespread purging of Negro voters resumed.

Griffin, Ga.—Spaulding County Board of Registrars removed the names of 561 Negroes from the voters' list before the Democratic primary. Federal judge ruled the names must be restored.

Laurens County.—Registration Board Chairman E. S. Baldwin confirmed the purge of some 1,800 Negro voters prior to the primary. Federal judge ordered registration without discrimination.

Brunswick, Ga.—Edward Glover, David A. Glover, and Matthew Glover, Sr., brought suit against the Twiggs County Board of Registrars on behalf of the 900 Negro voters purged. Federal judge trying the case ruled registration must proceed without discrimination.

Albany, Ga.—Suit filed on behalf of approximately 3,000 Dougherty County Negroes who claimed they were purged from voting lists.

August 10: Calhoun Falls, S. C.—The Reverend Archie Ware, a sixty-six-year-old Negro minister, was attacked after voting in the Democratic primary.

September 6: Montgomery Co., Ga.—Isiah Nixon, veteran of World War II, was shot and killed after voting in the primary election. The accused murderers were acquitted.

September 8: Montgomery County, Ga.—N. A. A. C. P. branch president D. V. Carter was assaulted by a group of whites for carrying Negro voters to the polls in his auto. Carter identified one of his assailants as one of the two brothers who were acquitted in the Nixon slaying. Carter's wrist was broken and he fled to Atlanta for safety.

November 1: Tuskegee, Ala.—The KKK burned two crosses, one near the county courthouse, the other near the college.

November 2: Nashville, Tenn.—Leaflets sent to hundreds of Negro voters, reading: "The KKK knows you. Keep away from the polls."

Tougaloo, Miss.—Dr. William Bender, minister and instructor at Tougaloo College, was kept from the polls by three whites, one brandishing a pistol.

Louisville, Miss.— Rev. C. M. Eiland was stopped by two whites who said they had no objections to his voting but, "if you vote, we'll have to let the veterans vote too."

Greenwood, Miss.—J. D. Collins and A. C. Montgomery were visited by the mayor and other leading citizens, who urged them to stop Negro veterans from voting.

November 20: Lyons, Ga.—Robert Mallard was shot and killed. He had led a movement defending the right of Negroes to vote. He had been warned against voting.

1949

January 25: Birmingham, Ala.—States' Rights Leader Horace Wilkison urged Alabama legislators to bar Negroes from the polls and place the responsibility for state government "exclusively on reputable white people."

April 10: New Orleans, La.—Sam Spears was badly beaten and discharged from his employment for reading literature of the Young Progressive movement. The beating was conducted by the police in their car and in the police station.

October 22: (radio address)—Herman Talmadge: "We will fight them in the counties and the cities; we intend to fight hand to hand with all our weapons and we will never submit to one inch of encroachment on our traditional pattern of segregation."

1950

June 5: Opelousas, La.—Six Negroes were beaten and pistol-whipped at the St. Landry Parish courthouse when they tried to register and vote.

June 28: Ludowici, Ga.—Crosses were burned in front of a Negro night club, a turpentine company's quarters, and the home of Ben Walker, Negro leader. White paper crosses were also tied to tree roots in an attempt to intimidate Negro voters in the area.

July: Abbeville, S. C.—Two Negro men were beaten by unidentified white men prior to the July 11 primary. They were told they were being "treated" because they had taken an interest in voting.

Aiken, S. C.—Registered Negro voters around Ellenton and Myers Mill in the southern part of Aiken County received threatening letters warning them not to vote in the July 11 primary.

1951

July: Sussex, Va.—Suits were filed by 34 Negroes who charged discrimination on the basis of race in three precincts. They were denied registration to vote in the regular August 7 primary.

November 17: Opelousas, La.—John Lester Mitchell was shot and killed by a deputy sheriff when he became "rowdy and out of control" at a Negro night club. Mitchell was one of three who had filed suit in federal court demanding that the registrar of St. Landry Parish open his books to Negro voters. Although the non-salaried deputy was cleared, the *Louisiana Weekly* stated flatly that "Mitchell was shot down like a dog."

1952

May 8: Hattiesburg, Miss.—Nine Negroes signed affidavits that they had been denied registration solely because of race.

May 27: Jacksonville, Fla.—A crudely made "bomb" was thrown into a Negro polling place several hours before voting began; explosion tore hole in roof. A short time later a similar "bomb" which did not explode was found in front of David H. Dwight's home. Dwight headed an organization influential in getting Negroes registered.

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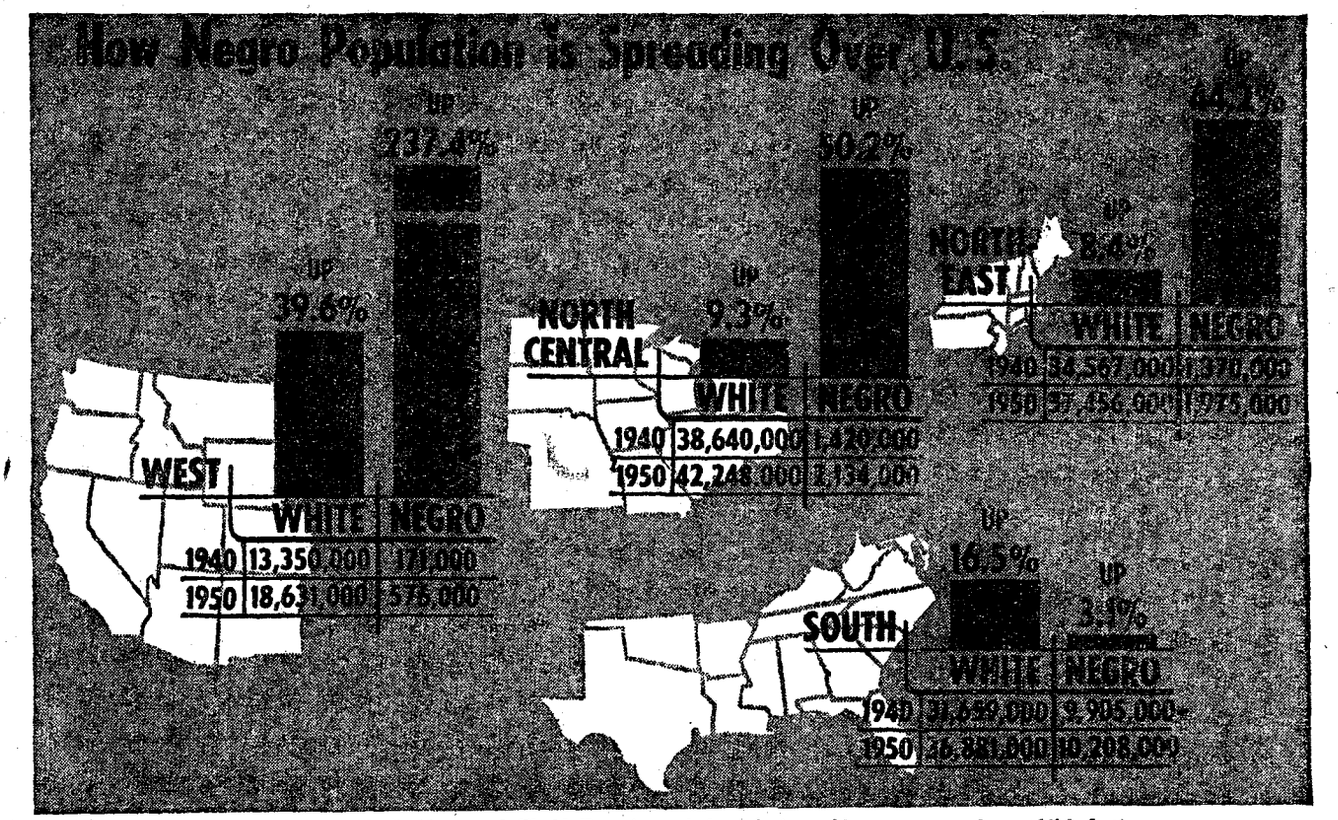
"The Great New Fact"

RECONSTRUCTION Number Two began in the South, in both its economic and its political aspects, with Roosevelt's effort to find a way out of the impasse which the New Deal faced in the late 1930's. Convinced that the South was the nation's largest untapped market, he shrewdly concluded that its development provided the most likely way of escape from the 1937 "recession." On the political front the road was blocked at every turn by the Dixiecrats. But the President was not easily intimidated, and on March 23, 1938, at Gainesville, Georgia, in the presence of Senator Walter George, he attacked the South's feudal economic system. "When you come right down to it," he said, "there is little difference between the feudal system and the fascist system." Returning to Washington, he set up the research program which resulted in the famous Report on Economic Conditions of the South. The President presented the report, which blueprinted Reconstruction Number Two, to the Southern people in a speech at Barnesville on August 11, 1938, and called for the defeat of Senator George.

The attempted purge failed, but the plan to tap the South's economic resources is now succeeding. Recognizing the South as "the nation's No. 1 economic problem," the President induced Congress to pour millions of dollars into the Southern states. Half a million tenants received Farm Security aid, seven states shared in the benefits of the TVA investment, cotton and tobacco culture became solvent after years of bankruptcy, and industrial ventures were given large-scale support, first through R. F. C. loans, more recently under the fast-write-off tax program.

The industrial transformation of the South since the late 1930's has already begun to change the social and political structure of the region. It is a key factor in the Southern Negro's effort to achieve his second, or real, emancipation. As he finds more and better-paying jobs close at hand, the Southern Negro is much less inclined to go North. He is moving, however, in large numbers from rural areas in the South to urban centers. With the amount of surplus labor in the South rapidly declining, the Negro commands a better price for his labor. "Growing industries in the South," said *Business Week* last year, "thus are tending to deprive Northern employers of a source of labor supply that they tapped heavily in the earlier war boom. The idea is catching on in the South that the area needs to keep its own labor force and wage income and utilize it more fully for the region's benefit."

Although the industrialization of the South has not yet by any means benefited whites and Negroes equally, it has at least made possible Reconstruction Number Two. From somewhat different points of view, Mr. Lesesne and Mr. Jones in the following pages appraise this "great new fact about the South."



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The South: Giant of Tomorrow

BY HENRY LESESNE

Columbia

THE spires of industry cast long shadows over the cotton and tobacco fields and the piney woods of Dixie. Giant plants costing twenty or forty or sixty million dollars rise out of the fields near big hydro-electric developments. The old and the new South are meeting head on. Sometimes as many as five thousand workers commute from thirty miles around to work in a huge air-conditioned plant equipped with the most efficient machinery obtainable.

The metamorphosis of the South is seen in the cities too. Atlanta, which makes everything from mechanical pencils to giant bombers, is beginning to look like New York. The steel city of Birmingham, center of the South's heavy industry, is going after new and diversified industry with civic gusto. New Orleans, center of a great and expanding South American trade, has obtained Kaiser's $150,000,000 basic-aluminum plant. In Charlotte, North Carolina, America's textile capital, the new economy will be reflected in the $5,000,000 office building that Celanese is blueprinting.

Since World War II billions have been invested in new industrial plants, putting two million Southerners to work. Vast research centers are rising. Research is new stuff in the South, but it is paying quick dividends; if technology has come late, it is working overtime. The men behind the twentieth-century "enlightened" industrial revolution in the South want to profit from the experience of older industrial areas.

People who think of the South in terms of twenty or even ten years ago must form a new picture in their minds. The company-owned village, created in the pattern of the English mill town, has all but disappeared; some of those remaining look like suburban developments, with modern five- and six-room brick houses renting for about $20 a month. The "cabin in the cotton" of song and story is also disappearing. The tenant farmer is getting a job in town.

The Negro, symbol of the South's problem and its poverty, is sharing directly and indirectly in the industrial prosperity. He is moving to the urban centers, if not to the East and Midwest. The boll weevil and the low price of cotton started the migration in the late twenties. Now the mechanization of cotton and the expanding economy are accelerating the movement from the farm. In cotton-picking time there is a great shortage of farm labor in the cotton belt.

The big red sputterbugs that pick the cotton are far too costly for the average farmer—only about 20 per cent of the crop is mechanically harvested. The significance of mechanization lies in the fact that tractors are replacing mule and man-power. Back in 1920 there were only about 50,000 tractors in the cotton belt. In five years the number doubled. In twenty years there were seven times as many. In 1951 there were three times as many as in 1940.

Southerners, including some notable Southern Negro leaders, say the Negro's greatest opportunity is still in the South. The migrating trend, however, is unmistakable. In the last decade seven Southern states showed marked decreases in the non-white population, while in the big industrial states of the East the non-white population jumped 55 per cent.

Oddly enough, to find out what is happening in the old South one might well look at what is happening in California. This year California became the second cotton-producing state in the country, producing 1,765,000 bales, exceeded only by Texas. The California cotton acreage, however, was only the seventh largest. Cotton is grown on irrigated land in much of the West, and it is there that mechanization is most complete.

W. B. Camp is a South Carolinian who went to California as a young man. Today he is said to be the world's largest cotton farmer. This is interesting enough, but what is more so is that Mr. Camp and his associates have now bought 11,000 acres of land in the South Carolina coastal plain which they will use, not for cotton, but for cattle-raising. Livestock farming is growing in the Southeast much faster than anywhere else in the country. The South is swapping cotton for cattle with the West. Thanks to better seed and improved practices all along the line, the Southeast still produces about as much cotton as it did twenty years ago, but on about half the acreage.

One hundred and ten years ago a Southerner named William Gregg, a jeweler by trade and a man of only moderate means, asserted that the region could never come into its own until it cultivated the mechanical arts and provided some means of livelihood for the masses of poor, non-landowning whites who seemed to have no place in the slave-holding plantation economy. His views were opposed by the politicians of his day and much of the aristocracy, who feared the social consequences. Nevertheless, Gregg succeded in organizing

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a company and building the South's first large cotton mill at Graniteville, South Carolina. Contrary to the practice of the day the company employed only white workers, for whom it provided homes, schools, and churches. The mill, built of native granite, still stands and is in operation today. Just a few miles away the largest project ever undertaken by man—the Savannah River H-bomb plant—is being built. Some 45,000 workers are engaged on its construction, but in the end it will not employ more people than one of the South's larger cotton mills.

The South did not go in for cotton manufacturing on any appreciable scale until Reconstruction, when the communities along the streams in the Piedmont, where water power was available, began organizing mills to provide local employment, with the residents of the community subscribing to shares on the instalment plan, often paying only 25 or 50 cents a week. Today the Southeast has 80 per cent of the cotton-textile industry, it is getting all the new chemical-fiber industry, and it will apparently get the woolen and worsted industry. The textile-machinery manufacturers can be expected to move in next.

Sixty-odd years ago a workman tossed a piece of coke into the canal at Spray, North Carolina, an early textile center. Peculiar bubbles rising from the water caused an investigation and subsequent experiments. Thus, accidentally, was discovered a process for making calcium carbide—the first commercial source of acetylene. This discovery was actually the origin of the Union Carbide Company, formed in 1898, which is now one of the ten largest manufacturing corporations in the nation.

But although one of them can be said to have been born in North Carolina, the big chemical companies in general bypassed the Southeast until comparatively recent times. Last year the chemical industry located more than 50 per cent of its new installations in the South. Monsanto Chemical Company is building a $25,000,000 plant at Texas City, Texas, and American Cyanamid is planning a $47,000,000 plant at New Orleans to make acrylonitrile, the basis of the new acrylic fibers. Since the war du Pont has built almost all its new plants in the South; it now has twenty operating in nine Southern states. Oddly enough, when a subsidiary of Union Carbide started looking the country over for a place to erect a $33,000,000 plant to manufacture its new synthetic fiber it chose a site near Spray, birthplace of the parent company. The fastest growing chemical empire in the world is developing along the Texas and Louisiana Gulf coasts.

More than sixty large paper and pulp mills have a daily capacity of 25,000 tons, and nine new mills, involving an investment of well over $200,000,000, are under construction. A British company is now planning a $50,000,000 newsprint plant in Tennessee. The giant Coosa River Newsprint Company of Alabama is making newsprint out of the prolific and fast-growing Southern pine and shipping it all over the country; Beaunit is changing the same cellulose into rayon, which one of the country's leading clothing manufacturers is making into wearing apparel.

The South is also expected to get a major share of the new plastics industry, which, it is predicted, will triple its present capacity by 1960. It already has a few tool and arms plants and even some of the plants making the "wonder" drugs. Electric companies are building or planning big appliance factories, in the wake of automobile-assembly works. Discriminatory freight rates have finally been abolished, and this is expected to accelate the general industrialization of the region.

PER CAPITA income is now 111 per cent higher than in 1929 in the United States as a whole, but it is 179 per cent higher in the South. Per capita sales almost tripled in the South between 1929 and 1948. Industrial employment in the South had jumped 58 per cent in 1950 over 1929, according to government figures. The South is evidently becoming a much larger part of the national market. It is entering more and more into the mainstream of American life. If the crux of the Southern problem is economic, the region's ills should gradually cure themselves as its economy reaches the national level. To bring this about, the National Planning Association figures that new capital investment of from four to five billion dollars a year is needed. Every available source of funds should therefore be explored, including absentee Northern ownership. The shift from agriculture to industry must be continued and hastened.

It is well known that industry finds a "favorable" atmosphere in the South; industry goes where it is wanted and stays where it is fairly treated. There is no doubt about the South wanting industry. Other inducements it offers are vast mineral resources, cheap gas and electricity, water and rail transportation, good factory sites, and a mild climate. As for Southern labor, Governor Byrnes of South Carolina summed up its quality when he said recently that South Carolina—and Southern—workers are "willing to give a full day's work for a full day's pay." Southern manufacturers are inclined to minimize wage differentials as a factor in the South's competitive advantage. They say, instead, that the big consideration is "productivity"—the result of a combination of the virtues of the Southern worker and the modern equipment of Southern plants.

The legislators of South Carolina recently toured new industrial plants around Clemson College, South Carolina's agricultural and mechanical college, which boasts the largest college-level textile-engineering school in the nation. They saw a cotton mill covering fourteen acres—all on one floor for continuous production, air-condi-

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tioned. They visited woolen and synthetics plants, a new multi-million-dollar fiber-glass plant, a modernistic plant turning out sewing machines. And on the five-hundred-acre "lawn" of one of the mills they saw several hundred white-faced Hereford steers grazing on alta fescue grass and Ladino clover. The mill started the livestock project as a practical measure to keep the immense lawn mowed and at the same time to demonstrate to the farmers of the area what can be done with the new grasses that are being introduced for year-round pasturage. The inevitable conclusion is: You just can't beat things like that.

Reconstruction Number Two

BY LEWIS W. JONES

Tuskegee, Alabama

THE economic emancipation of the Negro in the South, his release from unremunerative hand labor and the share-cropper system, appears to have been effected by white-faced cattle and tractor-drawn farm machinery. Sleek Herefords now graze on hillsides where gaunt, ill-fed people once scratched for a meager living. In the fields where not long since parents and children toiled without hope of winning security or comfort, machines sow, tend, and harvest bounteous crops. And strangely enough, this improvement in the Southern Negro's lot has been brought about by his traditional enemy, the Democratic Party.

The cotton South of tradition had a one-crop, tenant-operated agriculture and a large farm population, of which a high proportion was Negro. Since 1930 the population has become more urban, with a drift in rural regions into non-farm occupations, and the proportion of Negroes has sharply decreased. The South of tradition was oligarchy-ridden: a small number of voters made its political decisions, its government was inefficient, its schools were poor, and justice was flouted in its courts. Disfranchised, the Negro suffered most from these abuses. Since 1930 he has been regaining his right to vote, he has had his case heard in the courts, expenditures for his education have increased, and the rise of his political influence now promises to offset that of the die-hard oligarchy.

The position of the Negro in the South has undergone more striking change in the past twenty years than in any comparable period since Reconstruction. Political progress had to await not only economic progress, which came finally with the introduction of diversified and mechanized farming, but the creation of a new climate of opinion. Depression, war, and a philosophy of government which has developed since the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 have induced a new generation of Southerners to defy the still powerful oligarchy that would keep the Negro from enjoying his civil rights.

Population trends in the nation have lessened the pressure of population on the resources of the South just at the time that those resources are being developed. Information released by the Census of 1950 does not include migration data as such, but the changes in population distribution between 1940 and 1950 give a general idea of what has occurred. In that decade the population increase was 44 per cent in the Northeast, 50 per cent in the North Central states, 237 per cent in the West, and only 3 per cent in the South. This small increase in the area where two-thirds of the Negroes of the nation lived in 1940 and continued to live in 1950 indicates a great out-migration. The movement was not confined to Negroes, but the rate for Negroes was much greater than for whites. In Mississippi the non-white population actually decreased 8 per cent and in Georgia 2 per cent; in South Carolina it increased only 1 per cent.

The story of the redistribution of the Negro population is by no means told by the figures on the migration from the South to the North. The same expelling and the same beckoning forces have caused a marked movement from farm to city in the South. The total population of Alabama, for example, increased 8 per cent between 1940 and 1950, while the urban population increased 43 per cent. The population of cities of 100,000 or more increased 32 per cent, and that of cities between 10,000 and 100,000, 52 per cent.

The paternalism of plantation agriculture gave Negroes in the South a certain dubious security which they have now lost. Have they found a place of greater security in the economy? In 1949 the median income of non-white families in the South was $995, that of white families was twice as large, and that of white families in other sections of the United States approximately three times as large. Less than 12 per cent of the non-whites in the South had incomes of $2,500 or more.

That Negroes are not bettering their position in agriculture is shown by several facts. Between 1930 and

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LEWIS W. JONES, an authority on the problems of the rural South, is director of research on the Rural Life Council of Tuskegee Institute. For ten years he served as supervisor of field studies in the Department of Social Science of Fisk University.

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1945 tenant farmers of both races declined by 622,000, while owners increased by 270,000. Negroes represented 223,000, or 35 per cent, of the decrease in tenants and 11,000, or 4 per cent, of the increase in owners. According to the *Farmer's Bulletin* of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, 250,000 new tractors were bought between 1940 and 1950 in the six Southern states served by the bank. This, together with the increase in the amount of land given over to pasturage and the increase in the number of farms of more than 500 acres, shows the trend toward a type of agriculture in which the small farm, whether owner-operated or tenant-operated, is at a disadvantage.

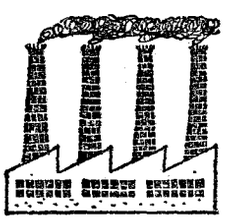
IN 1940, 40 per cent of the non-whites in the South were employed in agriculture; in 1950, 29 per cent. In the same period the percentage employed in manufacturing increased from 10 to 14 per cent, and there were small percentage increases in other industry groups. Industrial workers classified as operatives and the like represented 8.9 per cent of non-whites employed in the South in 1940, as compared with 16.1 per cent in 1950. Private household workers and laborers accounted for 31 per cent of employed non-whites in 1940 and 30 per cent in 1950.

However, regardless of how many more Negroes were employed in some categories in 1950 than in 1940, it is well to observe that only 1.6 per cent of employed non-whites were clerical or kindred workers and that they represented only 3 per cent of all such workers. Four per cent of employed non-whites were craftsmen, foremen, and the like and constituted 8 per cent of workers in these categories; 4 per cent were professional and technical workers and constituted 9 per cent of all such workers. In none of the occupations in which Negroes made significant gains during the past decade does their proportion of the total number of workers approach the proportion of Negroes in the population.

The pattern that has circumscribed the industrial employment of Negroes continues to operate. There is still negligible employment of Negroes in textile mills and heavy employment in tobacco factories. No serious attempt to change the pattern has been made by either employers or unions in the new industries that have moved to the South.

Despite the claims of economic determinists, social and ideological factors have always influenced the Negro's position in the South. Using legend and prevarication to bolster its position, the oligarchy has insisted that its opinions are those of all "respectable" Southerners. So strident have been its claims that they have often been accepted by honest but befuddled people. The barefoot white share-cropper has believed in the myth of the oligarchy's South even while his own ragged children picked cotton side by side with the barefoot black share-cropper's children. The white laborer working for starvation wages in the textile mills has believed that keeping things as they were was his only protection against being displaced at his profitless spindles by black farmers forsaking their profitless cotton rows. Much evil was done by politician, preacher, and newspaper publisher in spreading the views which still influence the position of the South in the nation and the position of the Negro in the South.

The gains made by the Negro and by democracy in the South have been wrested by main force from the oligarchy, which gives nothing it can possibly retain. If Negroes are getting better schools and more money is being spent on education for whites and Negroes alike, it is because state and local governments have been forced to accept their responsibilities. Since 1940 the median number of school years completed by whites has gone up from 8.7 to 9.7 years and for non-whites from 5.7 to 7.0 years. Meanwhile the diehard politicians have shouted objections, spent the taxpayers' money in court suits to keep Negroes out of the schools, and enacted legislation to prevent the admission of Negroes to more schools. The different attitude of the younger generation is shown by the fact that at none of the institutions for higher learning to which Negroes have been admitted in the past few years has a single instance of friction been reported. It has not been the young voters who have sought to keep the Negro disfranchised but the oldsters, local representatives of the oligarchy on county Democratic committees and boards of registrars.



While every year Negroes are voting in greater numbers, they are not yet active in state or local party organizations. There are no Negro representatives, for example, so far as casual inquiry can discover, on the local committees that administer the programs of the Farm Home Administration and the Production and Marketing Administration. Negroes who need the services of these agencies often do not know whom to approach.

The political group which has been in conflict with the Roosevelt and Truman administrations for the past twenty years is still the most formidable foe of Negro progress. In collaboration with the Republicans it has been able to block enlightened legislation and prevent the carrying out of policies in the spirit in which they were devised. Now, as once before in our history, the power of the Southern oligarchy is threatened. A new emancipation is in process. Will it go forward to create a democratic South, or will a reactionary coalition succeed in turning the clock back? That is the great question for all Southerners who believe in democratic principles and democratic practices, as well as for the Negro.

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AROUND THE SOUTH

[*To sample Southern Negro opinion on the 1952 election and also to get first-hand information from key areas on the extent of Negro registration,* The Nation *asked for statements from a number of its friends and correspondents in the South. Their reports are published below. Most of the writers are actively identified with the effort to increase Negro registration in the Southern states.*]

Field Report

Birmingham

AS the N. A. A. C. P.'s Southeastern regional secretary, I cover Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. In the area of political action my work is completely non-partisan in accordance with N. A. A. C. P. policy. It seems to me that Negroes throughout this region are becoming more politically conscious than they have ever been. The televising and radio broadcasting of the two conventions last July brought politics into the homes of Negroes who have never before engaged in political activity.

Campaigns for registration are being stepped up and plans for getting out the vote are under way. The N. A. A. C. P. is a leading factor in almost every community where it has a branch. Progressive Democratic groups (which are usually Negro Democratic groups), voters' leagues, civic leagues, women's groups, and other organizations are working on this project too.

"The man in the street" thinks that most Negroes in this section lean toward the Democratic candidates and platform. They feel that there is more substance in the Democratic Party's plank on civil rights. They are encouraged by mention of the need to change Senate Rule 22—on filibusters—though they are deeply concerned about Senator Sparkman's attitude on this question.

There are a number of counties in Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi (particularly), a few in Tennessee, and some in Florida and South Carolina where the Negro is not yet voting. In these states "white supremacists" and Dixiecrats on Boards of Registrars refuse to register Negroes. In some areas of all these states Negroes have been so threatened and intimidated that they are afraid to try to register.

The lack of political organization is a serious handicap; there has been little or no effective organization on the precinct level. But the task of increasing the Negro vote is being done at a swifter pace now than in previous years. It will be speeded up as the N. A. A. C. P. grows in strength in this region and as more organizations cooperate. It will be further speeded up as suits are filed against Boards of Registrars that refuse to register Negroes.

In conclusion: the Negro in the South is approaching political maturity and is becoming keenly aware of the importance of the power of the ballot. Negroes will focus their attention on candidates for federal office, since they are convinced that action to protect their rights, and their lives, must come from the federal government. The Southern states have done little or nothing to offer Southern Negroes this protection, although the Dixiecrats and States' Righters continue to insist that they be left alone to solve their own problems.

RUBY HURLEY,
Southeastern Regional Office,
N. A. A. C. P.

The Situation in Alabama

Birmingham

THE Alabama Negro vote in the general election of 1948 was less than 10,000. At present there are estimated to be between 40,000 and 50,000 qualified Negro voters in the state.

A campaign is now under way to increase the number of Negro voters to 100,000 by election time, with emphasis on registering veterans, who would not have to pay the poll tax and would be eligible to vote. Several organizations have joined forces to put over this drive. Registration clinics are being conducted in various communities to instruct prospective voters.

Many obstacles are still being placed in the way of Negroes who seek to qualify to vote. In some counties Boards of Registrars use various devices to keep down Negro registration, especially in those counties where Negroes outnumber whites. One such device is to require the prospective voter to furnish two persons to vouch for him. In at least five counties there is not a single Negro voter, and Negroes cannot always find white people who will vouch for them. In Henry County it was necessary for Negroes to go into federal court to get this practice abolished. Several hundred Negroes are now registered whereas prior to 1951 the county did not have a single Negro on the registration lists.

Another obstacle is the cumulative poll tax in Alabama, which is the most vicious of the poll-tax states. A voter must pay a poll tax from his twenty-first to his forty-fifth birthday. Hence a person registering after the age of forty-five must pay $36.

As president of the Alabama Democratic Association, an organization of Negro Democrats, I have traveled throughout the state. I believe that Negroes will vote overwhelmingly Democratic in the coming election.

ARTHUR D. SHORES

Birmingham

Registration barriers have been dented in about twenty of Alabama's sixty-seven counties since 1948; only three or four counties with a big Negro population still refuse to place any Negro citizens on the voting lists, although some others permit only token Negro voting.

Alabama is not the easiest state in which to become a qualified voter. Poll tax, registration laws, and the one-party system serve to keep the electorate small. The "Little Boswell Amendment," Alabama's new voter-qualification law, which was adopted by a margin of 369 votes in 1951, was designed chiefly for close racial screening of voters. To become a voter by this registration formula one must be of good moral character, understand the duties of citizenship, answer a questionnaire prepared by the Alabama State Supreme Court, and take a loyalty oath.

The Negro voters are organized behind the Alabama Progressive Democratic Association, headed by Arthur D. Shores. It has vice-chairmen in the nine Congressional districts, with county, city, and community units. Most of them will support, I think, the Steven-

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son-Sparkman ticket. Upward of 90 per cent of Negro voters usually turn out in important elections.

For the first time since 1922 Negro voters, organized in Birmingham as the Lincoln Republican Club, will be accepted by the Alabama State Republican Party. But the G. O. P. will do well if it gets 5 per cent of Alabama's Negro voters. It is putting only Presidential electors on its ballot.

EMORY O. JACKSON,
the Birmingham *World*

The Florida Negro Vote

Ocala

ROUGHLY speaking, the Negro population of Florida, with its 350,000 potential voters, constitutes 30 per cent of the total of those eligible to vote. In 1946, for the first time in more than forty years, Negroes participated in the Democratic primaries. Two years after the Supreme Court's decision opened the primaries to Negroes, 35,000 qualified and around 25,000 voted. Some 12,000 Negro Republicans qualified in that year. In 1948 the Negro Democratic vote had increased to 85,323; the Negro Republican vote was 10,000. In 1950 the Negro Democratic vote totaled 106,660; the Negro Republican vote was 9,726. On April 30 of this year, according to the records of the Secretary of State, 112,868 Negro Democrats and 8,045 Negro Republicans were registered.

Because of the interest in the coming election and the efforts of many groups to increase Negro registration it is estimated that upward of 150,000 colored votes will be cast in November—less than 50 per cent of Florida's potential Negro vote. While it is true that apathy is partially responsible for the low registration, it is also true that intimidation and threats are used in some counties to discourage Negro voting. Flagler County currently has only one registered colored voter. Lafayette, Liberty, Madison, and Union Counties have none at all.

Outside of West Florida, Negroes are free to register and vote, but they receive very little encouragement from the local and state Democratic officials; the Democratic organizations do not recognize Negro Democrats or integrate them on the state or local levels.

From all indications, Florida Negroes will vote the Democratic ticket, for several reasons. First, Negroes traditionally have little faith in the civic and political morality of the professional Southern Democrats. The defection of many of them to reactionary Republicanism solidifies the Southern Negroes' strong Democratic support. They also dislike the "unholy alliance" of Dixiecrats and Republicans in Congress.

The younger Negro voters frankly admit that they know nothing of a Republican Administration. They associate "depressions," "bread lines," and "soup lines" with the G. O. P. Until the Republican Party can develop a forward-looking, progressive, and aggressive approach to world, domestic, and minority problems, the Negroes, by and large, will stick with the Democrats.

EDWARD D. DAVIS,
Editorial Director, Tampa *Bulletin*,
and President, State Conference
N. A. A. C. P. Branches

The Georgia Negro: 1952

Atlanta

WHILE the great majority may vote Democratic, Negroes, at least in urban centers, are becoming more politically conscious and more discriminating in party allegiance than ever before. They not only appreciate the tremendous gains made under Democratic administrations but they feel a strong allegiance to the party which has consistently fought for progressive measures in the social and economic fields. Above all, they are grateful to the party that has brought the skeleton of civil rights out of the closet and made a real issue of it.

On the other hand, the thinking Negro is aware of another fact which puts him in a dilemma: because of the seniority system, a Democratic victory will perpetuate Southern control of Congressional committees. This leadership, aided and abetted by Senate Rule 22, has effectively fought all progressive measures from civil rights to labor and welfare legislation.

Any disaffection among Negro voters in Georgia may be attributed more to their resentment at the opposition of Southern Congressmen and Governors to the Negro's economic and political advancement than to their belief that the Republicans, many of whom have formed an effective alliance with the Southern Democrats to block civil rights, will succeed where the Democrats have failed. Added to this is the Negro's resentment at not being recognized as an integral part of the Democratic Party in Georgia. Some believe that a strong Republican Party will be a good corrective to this.

The Negro vote, even in Georgia, must no longer be taken for granted.

WILLIAM M. BOYD,
Professor of Political Science,
Atlanta University, and President,
Georgia State Conference, N. A. A. C. P.

Shift to the Republicans

Atlanta

THE forthright stand of both the Democratic 1948 platform and the party's candidate, President Truman, on civil rights attracted the support of an overwhelming majority of Negro voters in this state in the last election: about 150,000 Negroes were eligible to vote and some 100,000 actually voted, of whom three out of four probably supported the Democratic ticket. This year as many as 200,000 Negroes may be registered in Georgia.

In February the Georgia General Assembly, almost completely Democratic, passed a bill aimed at barring President Truman as a candidate; it freed the Presidential electors from any moral obligation to vote for a specific candidate in the Electoral College. It also banned the names of Presidential candidates from the ballot. Under this bill, which fortunately is limited to the 1952 election, the people have no assurance that their vote will be given to the candidate for whom they intended to vote.

Many of those who understand the implications of this bill will register their protest in the only way open to them—by voting against the Democrats in November. Moreover, I believe Negroes in Georgia and in the South generally are disgusted by the complete failure of the Democrats to get their civil-rights legislation before Congress because of the Southerners' opposition.

On the other hand, the Republican convention showed that the liberal element in that party is in control, as was evidenced by the nomination of General Eisenhower over Taft. Then, too, there is a growing belief among our people that we must try to solve our problems on the local level, and to do

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this we must develop a strong two-party system in the Southern states.

Because of these factors, I believe this year will see a shift of the Negro vote in Georgia from Democratic to Republican. I have resigned my position as president of a Democratic club and announced my intention to vote the Republican ticket. C. A. SCOTT,

Editor and General Manager,
Atlanta *Daily World*

Another View

Atlanta

THE potential Negro vote in Georgia is approximately 600,000, of which 150,000 are on the registration books. Probably about 100,000 will vote in the Presidential election. A reasonably safe guess is that more than three-fourths of them will support the Democrats.

The greatest obstacle to the Negro's full participation in the coming election is the apathy that exists in rural areas, primarily because Negroes have been deprived of the vote so long that it will take time to teach them the value of exercising their rights. Then again, in some sections, although overt acts of intimidation are largely vanishing, a strong if silent opposition remains.

Southern Negroes will support the Democratic Party in overwhelming numbers, despite the personal popularity of General Eisenhower, because the positive programs of the Democratic Party in the last twenty years have raised the economic level of the entire region.

A. T. WALDEN,

President, Georgia Association of Citizens' Democratic Clubs and Temporary Chairman, Southwide Association of Negro Democrats

The Louisiana Negro: 1952

New Orleans

THOUGH the late Governor Huey Long removed the Louisiana poll-tax requirement in the early thirties, fewer Negroes voted from 1930 to 1944 than in some other Southern states. The reason: systematic exclusion of Negroes from registration under election laws which permit registration officials to determine the qualifications of applicants. Once registered, Negroes *in the major cities* have no difficulty in voting. In more than half of the state's sixty-odd parishes (counties), no Negroes are registered; intimidation and violence are resorted to by officials to deprive them of the ballot.

In 1948 the total Negro registration was estimated at 49,000, of whom about 26,000 lived in New Orleans. In the Democratic primaries held in mid-summer of 1952 registration rose to a conservatively estimated 95,000, though it dropped to about 22,0000 in New Orleans, thanks to a purging of the rolls in Orleans Parish. This circumstance produced a coordinated effort among the city's three major Negro political organizations to increase registration. On the basis of state-wide results achieved over the past several months about 125,000 Negroes will be qualified to vote in November.

Negro political activity in Louisiana centers in New Orleans and Baton Rouge, where able leadership has developed. In other cities, like Shreveport, Alexandria, Lake Charles, and Lafayette, registration is shamefully low. However, in a few small towns, with the encouragement of liberal white officials, Negroes have been registered for the first time since Reconstruction.

While it seems likely that the largest Republican vote in the state's history will be cast for Eisenhower this fall, few of the ballots will come from Negroes. They feel that the Democratic Party has brought them more advances than have Republican Administrations, and the Roosevelt New Deal still exercises magic over their minds.

RUDOLPH MOSES

Louisiana Registration

New Orleans

THE Negro registration for the November 4 election will approach the 150,000 mark. Six months ago it was about 100,000.

Robert F. Kennon, Governor of Louisiana, said at the Democratic National Convention: "Louisiana is the stronghold of democracy." When incidents such as the one that recently happened in Greensburg, Louisiana, occur and nothing is done about it, you begin to wonder just what our Governor's concept of democracy is. Greensburg was turned into a town of terror by a pistol-packing white farmer acting as a commissioner at the polls when twelve Negroes tried to vote. . . . This is not the first such incident. Another occurred just six months earlier when Louisiana was electing a governor.

C. C. DEJOIE, JR.,
Managing Editor, *Lousiana Weekly*

South Carolina Gives Notice

Columbia

DYNAMIC N. A. A. C. P. leadership for the past decade has kept Negroes alerted for offensive strategy in South Carolina. During that period, Negroes realized more than ever before that South Carolina was still unreconstructed, still beyond the pale of constitutional government as laid down by federal statute in regard to the rights and privileges of citizens. The fight against the "white primary" was won by Federal Judge J. Waties Waring's decision. And so South Carolina, birthplace of the Dixiecrat movement, became in 1950 the deathbed of virulent Dixiecratism when a heavy Negro vote kept Thurmond out of Washington and gave warning to similar politicians.

In my opinion Negroes here are not widely interested in Eisenhower's candidacy. The major drive, "South Carolinians for Eisenhower," was initiated by some fine men who were outnumbered by Dixiecrats. The Morris-Gerald Republicans, the state's only pretense to

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a Republican Party, are powerless to do anything effective for the national ticket or for themselves.

Opposition to registration in this state has become negligible, and there is a general though far from satisfactory advance on the registration booths. Religious and secular organizations, state and local, are emphasizing the importance of registering and voting, with special service being rendered by the Methodist and Baptist churches, the Masons, the State Teachers Association, and the N. A. A. C. P.

Negroes will be forced to work and to bargain politically as a group as long as office-seekers either consider or attack them as a group. Therefore, in "bloc" voting, as certain politicians and segments of the press label it derisively when done by Negroes, the Negroes are adopting the strategy used by the opposition for years when they either crucified or rendered voiceless at the ballot boxes anyone who dared express a feeling of kinship with the masses—labor, Negro, tenant farmer, sharecropper, slum-dweller, Tobacco-Roader, average citizen. "The handwriting is on the wall!"

MODJESKA MONTIETH SIMKINS,
Secretary, South Carolina Conference, N. A. A. C. P.

Columbia

Recently I completed an eight weeks' visit to thirty-eight of South Carolina's forty-six counties, covering forty-two communities in the interest of political action. Among the things this tour revealed was that a large majority of South Carolina's approximately 130,000 registered Negroes—there are about 400,000 Negro adults, three-fourths of whom should be able to qualify to vote—will support the Democratic ticket on November 4.

South Carolina's Negroes attribute most of their gains to the Democratic Party, but there is another important factor in the situation. They have been alienated from the G. O. P. by the recognized Republican Party of the state, which two years ago unceremoniously kicked out its two top and competent Negro members, Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins of Columbia, Richmond County Republican chairman, and Miss Cassandra E. Maxwell of Orangeburg, an attorney and leader in the Young Republican movement. This ouster, plus the fact that the national Republican Party has repeatedly recognized the state body over a thoroughly "mixed" faction, has driven away most of the overwhelming Negro support the G. O. P. once had. A second reason the cards are almost hopelessly stacked against the Republicans is the general suspicion that they have formed an alliance with the despised Dixiecrats.

The general attitude was summed up by a man from Clarendon County: "We're just getting our feet in the voting door. It don't make sense to take it out and go running off with the same people who messed us up years ago. If we take them feet out now we might not ever get them in there again."

JOHN H. MC CRAY,
Editor, the *Lighthouse and Informer*, State Chairman, South Carolina Progressive Democrats

Despite These Obstacles

Richmond

MANY young adult Negroes who have lived in Virginia all their lives cannot write their names and therefore are unable to register. The Negroes who have grown up since the adoption of the current constitution have seen discrimination at every turn—even in the courts, where, upon conflicting evidence, justice is surrendered to the whims of juries composed of white men. They have never seen Negroes represented in any phase of governmental activity, unless, indeed, in the separate school, which in appearance and atmosphere resembles the Negro church.

Against such a background the attempt today to convince the Negro that he is part and parcel of the democratic process means making him unlearn the teachings of his entire life and getting him to adopt a new philosophy and a new idea which, even yet, are contradicted by everything he sees around him. Despite these obstacles the Virginia Negro has made steady progress toward first-class citizenship by the use of the ballot. He has responded to the political avenues opened largely through the efforts of the N. A. A. C. P. Thus with enlightened, determined, and dedicated leadership, the Virginia Negro is closing the gap between the 382,000 potential Negro voters in the state and the present estimate of 70,000. He realizes that with the increased use of the ballot will come his long-deserved full citizenship.

W. LESTER BANKS,
Executive Secretary, Virginia State Conference N. A. A. C. P.

Report from Virginia

Richmond

IN THE past seven years the Negro vote in Virginia has nearly doubled, and 65,000 Negroes are expected to vote in the November election. Negroes cast approximately 40,000 votes for President Truman in 1948, and when one remembers that his plurality over Dewey was only 27,716 and that the combined Dewey-Thurmond vote exceeded Truman's by 14,677, it is apparent that the Negro vote was decisive in swinging Virginia's electoral votes to the Democratic column. It may well prove decisive again this year, particularly since conservative elements in the Democratic Party and many metropolitan dailies are supporting the Republican nominees. Proof of its importance is the fact that for the first time the Democratic Central Committee is soliciting Negro support; Negroes are also organizing local Stevenson-Sparkman clubs under the leadership of a group allied directly with the National Democratic Committee.

Virginia still has the poll tax, which by law must be paid in May for the three preceding years. Nothing can be done at this time, therefore, to increase the electorate except to make sure that everyone who has paid his poll tax registers. Political clubs and the N. A. A. C. P. are cooperating in this effort.

In general, Negroes were disappointed by the civil-rights planks in both platforms, but they believe that the Democratic Party's stand on F. E. P. C., labor, and the general welfare offers far more hope of progressive action than does that of the Republicans.

The Southern Negro is beginning to realize the importance of using the ballot to win first-class citizenship; he is also beginning to realize that he is a factor to be reckoned with even in the South.

OLIVER W. HILL,
Member of the President's Committee on Government Contract Compliance, and former member of the Richmond City Council

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Labor and the Southern Negro

THE great economic development that has taken place in the South since the late 1930's has not been brought about solely by federal handouts or a belated tapping of the South's resources. The South has used various inducements, among them low taxes and low-cost sites, to "kidnap" Northern industries. For example, the legislatures of Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Alabama have authorized municipalities to issue bonds for the construction of new industrial plants, machinery included, which can be leased at fairly nominal rates by Northern concerns. Since these bonds are exempt from federal taxation, the municipalities need pay only 2¼ per cent interest; private corporations borrowing for the same purpose would have to pay double this rate.

But of all the inducements offered by the South the most important is its lower wage scale. At present the wage differential is said to account for supplemental profits of from four to five billion dollars a year. By failing to take the substandard wages into consideration the federal government's procurement policies have in effect being stimulating the flight of Northern capital to the South. Most of the new textile mills in the South have been built by companies that have received "certificates of necessity" from the Defense Plant Administration authorizing them to write off the cost within a period of five years under the accelerated tax-amortization program. The rapid industrialization of the South is also related to the failure of Northern industry in 1946 to break the resistance of organized labor in the North to post-war wage cuts.

To the extent that Southern labor remains unorganized, however, the standards of organized labor are endangered in other areas. "Workers in the North," writes Edwin A. Lahey, a Chicago newspaperman, "are paying through the nose for the failure of the labor movement to organize the South." The South leads all other areas on violations of wages-and-hours legislation. Although only 16 per cent of the workers who complained of violations of the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1951 were in the South, 33 per cent of all underpaid workers and 46 per cent of all workers underpaid in violation of the law, were in the South; 36 per cent of all back wages owed workers under the act were owed to Southern workers. Yet one court in New York heard more suits in 1951 for violations of the Fair Labor Standards Act than were filed in the federal courts of the thirteen Southern states. "The cause," reports M. H. Ross, in the *North Carolina Law Review*, "is fear that the result of the suit may be not merely the collection of a few dollars in back wages but also a discharge."

It is not surprising that the forces which still attempt to deny the ballot to the Southern Negro are the very ones which have repeatedly blocked attempts to organize Southern labor. In the spring of 1951 the C. I. O. Textile Workers' Union spent $1,250,000 to keep 40,000 Southern textile workers on strike for five weeks. But the strike was broken. The methods used to defeat this and similar organizing efforts are indicated in a report of the Subcommittee on Labor and Labor-Management Relations of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare submitted during the second session of the Eighty-second Congress. A comparison of the following excerpts from the report with the "casualty list" appearing on page 250 will show that the Southern labor organizer faces much the same kind of opposition as the Southern Negro fighting to win the ballot.

> This concerted opposition to union organization and collective bargaining and the resulting nullification of the labor policies of the United States have been studied extensively by the subcommittee. The extent and effectiveness of this opposition in the Southern textile industry are almost unbelievable. Millions of dollars have been spent for organizing by the unions since the end of World War II, and yet Emil Rieve, president of the Textile Workers' Union of America (C. I. O.), testified before the subcommittee that membership in his union in the South had declined from 20 per cent of the textile employees to 15 per cent in the last few years.
>
> This retrogression of collective bargaining does not appear to have occurred by chance, nor does it appear to have come as a series of isolated incidents. In his testimony before the subcommittee Mr. Rieve said: "I charge that there exists in the textile industry, primarily in the South, a widespread conspiracy to prevent union organization and to destroy those unions which now exist." The evidence before the subcommittee goes far to substantiate Mr. Rieve's charge. . . .
>
> In stopping a union organizing campaign employers will use some or all of the following methods: surveillance of organizers and union adherents; propaganda through rumors, letters, news stories, advertisements, speeches to the employees; denial of free speech and assembly to the union; organization of the whole community for anti-union activity; labor espionage; discharges of union sympathizers; violence and gun play; injunctions; the closing or moving of the mill; endless litigation before the National Labor Relations Board and the courts, etc. If all this fails, the employer will try to stall, in slow succession, first the election, then the certification of the union, and finally the negotiation of a contract. Few organizing campaigns survive this type of onslaught. . . .

But despite many setbacks the South is being organized, and the fact has an important relevance to the "second emancipation" of the Southern Negro.

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How Far Has Southern Labor Advanced?

BY GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Atlanta

EIGHTEEN years ago in Birmingham you could see the beginnings of a new kind of unionism in the South. We had had craft unions in the building trades and in printing and on the railroads, and the textile workers had gone on strike spasmodically. But though you could find an occasional all-Negro local of plasterers or brickmasons, or of railway firemen and oilers, unionism had not reached the big plants where Negroes were employed in large numbers. True, the coal miners were organized, and they had learned from experience that they were powerful only if their unions contained both white and Negro workers. Mixed unions were, in fact, established United Mine Workers policy.

In 1934 I went out to the home of the secretary-treasurer of a new local of cast-iron-pipe workers near Birmingham. It was an A. F. of L. union with a thousand members, five hundred white and five hundred Negro. My friend lived in a neat, white-painted house on a hill near other white workers' homes. We stood on his front porch and looked down at a huddle of tar-paper shacks.

"Who lives in the bottom?" I asked. "Colored," he replied. "Do they work at the shop?" "Yes." "Do they belong to this union?" "Yes."

Then he said, "Can you see a little path running between up here where we live and down there where they live?" I could. "Before this union came there wasn't any path there."

The idea of one union for whites and blacks has made a secure place for itself in the life of the South. People at first were skittish, thought it was bound to cause trouble. But there was no trouble except when some foreman stirred it up. By now industrial unions, habitually organizing workers of both races, are powerful not only in the mines but in steel, aluminum, meat-packing, tobacco, rubber, automobiles and aircraft, lumber and woodworking, chemicals, communications, and paper and pulp.

Textiles have not really been cracked. It is doubtful whether more than 20 per cent of Southern textile workers have been organized at any one time in recent years, and the scattered locals are divided between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. The textile industry was built on white labor. In most cotton mills Negroes form only 10 per cent of the hands; and they are jealously kept out of everything except the heavier operations. Some locals have admitted Negroes. Some have put them into separate units. Some have ignored them. What a particular textile local does about the Negro workers appears unimportant at the time. But the failure of the white workers in this dominant Southern industry to accept a progressive pattern of race relations is closely tied to the weakness of the textile unions.

The steel unions are strong not only in the main centers but also in outlying plants. Packinghouses in little towns are often as well organized as those in the big cities. Paper and lumber mills in the piney woods have good unions. A measure of the strength of a union is its ability to organize isolated plants.

The big employers usually bargain honestly. The furniture manufacturers still fight the unions, as do textiles and the scattered garment factories. But in half a dozen of the largest Southern industries collective bargaining has won its battle.

How much organizing has the Southern labor movement accomplished? The figures are hard to come by. Both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. have put on major drives in the last few years. Both have probably doubled their Southern membership since 1946. I would give the C. I. O. close to 500,000 dues-paying members in the South at present and the A. F. of L. around 2,000,000. The United Mine Workers, including District 50, probably has at least 125,000. Add the independents, and you get a total of perhaps 2,750,000. The gainfully employed persons in non-agricultural industry in the South number somewhere around 9,300,000, but by no means all of them would ordinarily be thought capable of being organized. If 2,750,000 are union members, that is a good long start. And with strong home bases in many operations, the unions have every chance to grow. The number of Negroes in Southern unions is even harder to estimate. A guess would be a little under 700,000.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL is executive director of the Southern Regional Council. He is the author of "Textile Unionism in the South" and, with Horace Cayton, of "Black Workers and the New Unions."

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What determines the attitude of a union toward Negro workers is the proportion of Negroes in the industry. In an industry like paper and pulp, in which perhaps 40 per cent of the workers are Negro, neither A. F. of L. nor C. I. O. unions are likely to practice discrimination. If a local anywhere contains only a handful of Negroes, they are apt to get "second table."

The mixed unions have not tried to slay the dragon of Southern segregation. They take workers as they find them and get them together for bargaining purposes. At most meetings the Negro members bunch on one side of the aisle and the white members on the other. Some from each group sit where they will, and that is all right with everybody. Members observe, in a token way, some of the formalities long established in this bi-racial society, but there is democracy and equality. The example set to the community is so powerful that in the opinion of the South's leading race-relations experts the new mixed unions have done more to leaven the Southern situation than any other single force.

Work and Color

BY LUCY RANDOLPH MASON

Atlanta

EVER since I was a young woman beginning to think about the South with its injustices and inequalities, I have thought that it is not the Negro who has held the region back but rather the shadow of the Negro, which lies dark and distorted in the white man's mind. That shadow has produced strange illusions which in their turn have caused a breakdown in democracy and a tortured history for the South.

White people in their fear built protective barriers, so they thought, against the "encroachments of Negroes upon the special prerogatives of the whites." What they really built were road blocks to democracy and justice and equal opportunity. In so doing they hurt all the South and all the people. The evil weeds that grow from oppression, poverty, and ignorance spread in many directions. Trying to "keep the Negro in his place," the white man darkened and impoverished the society in which he lived and narrowed his own soul.

It was because of the C. I. O.'s concern for minorities, as well as for economically depressed people, that I was drawn to it. This movement contributes more to Southern progress than any other. During the fifteen years of C. I. O. in the South, convention resolutions on equality and opportunity for all have become solid achievements.

The intangible—one might say spiritual—progress is equally real and even more important to a man's dignity and self-respect. Human relationships are vastly improved. White men seeing their leaders greet a Negro visitor as "Mr. Jones," with extended right hand, follow the example and a new pattern is made. The use of polite language and friendly greetings is far more significant than people living outside the South can know. The mere fact that groups of union folk, white and colored, are sitting down together all over the nation to discuss things of equal importance to all creates a new kind of fellowship. Eating together at a hotel lunch or at a union barbecue is a spiritual experience for these union folk. There is balm for old sores in such simple, natural acts.

In the democracy of mixed meetings Negroes vote for good white men and white men vote for competent Negroes. It is a heartening thing that both can share responsibilities as they seek to represent all and work for all. In these democratic processes the union is the corrective of 150 years of mistaken history.

A Mississippian said to me many years ago, "The C. I. O. will never organize the South; Negroes just won't join unions; and the white people won't work in the same unions with Negroes." He was a false prophet. The C. I. O. has stuck to the declaration written into its first convention resolution in 1938: "To bring about the effective organization of the working men and women of America regardless of race, creed, color, or nationality and to unite them for common action into labor unions for their mutual aid and protection." It is an amazing and important fact that tens of thousands of Southern white men and women are now enrolled in mixed unions.

I was here in the South early enough to see the hesitant progress in these now integrated unions. Meetings were often held separately, with officers from one visiting the other, carrying reports of union actions and resolutions. Both groups voted. Then there was one meeting for all, but the Negroes were waved to the rear of the hall or to one side. Then, increasingly, a mixed local got all its members together to transact their business. In the beginning there might be "white" and "colored" water fountains. Now there is usually one. Divisive practices

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LUCY RANDOLPH MASON, descendant of both the Randolph and Mason families of Virginia, has been actively identified with the C. I. O.'s organizing drive in the South since its inception. This article is taken from her book "To Win These Rights: A Personal Story of the C. I. O. in the South," which Harper will publish in October.

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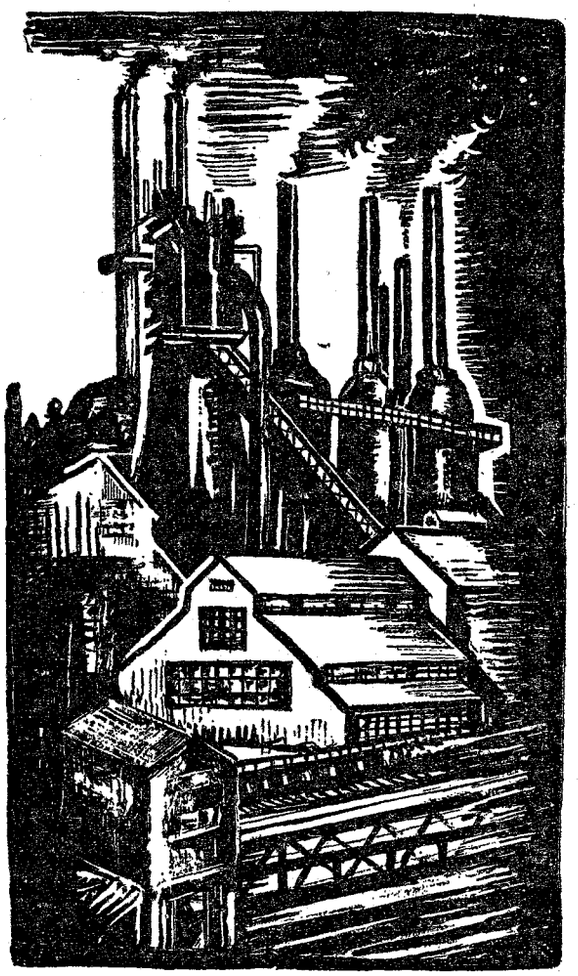

In C. I. O. unions are found only in rare and frowned-upon instances.

In a city where divisions in seating and facilities are maintained, the local union insisting that city ordinances forbid mixed meetings, C. I. O. leadership has done its utmost to end such practices. One of the most powerful addresses I have ever heard Philip Murray make was hurled at one of these divided meetings—where a rope separated one part of the hall from the other. As Mr. Murray pleaded for democracy and equality, the rope was cut here and there and soon trailed on the floor. White and colored men on the edges of the two groups filtered through, but no one was arrested.

One company which had long fought the union tried to split white from colored by offering an old-age pension for the colored considerably less than that for the whites. The union firmly refused the settlement. Sometimes white workers who want to learn about the union ask for someone to come to talk to them. Near Macon such a group, mostly white, sat waiting for the organizer. Finally a Negro appeared, expressed his regret that the white man sent for could not come, suggested that the white people leave and he would address the Negroes. None of this nonsense for the white would-be members—they insisted on hearing the Negro. A union grew out of this meeting. Sometimes the plant management will refuse to meet with a bargaining or grievance committee if there are Negroes on it. The white men stand by the colored until the situation is changed.

I THINK Negro leaders are tolerant and understanding of the white man's efforts to square things for the Negro workers. They realize that the white people are struggling to keep open the doors and ease the strain of these new relations.

In the beginning all union organizers were white. Now there are many Negro representatives both on the C. I. O. staff and with national unions. The C. I. O. conference held in Atlanta in 1949 was participated in by about twenty Negroes—staff men and delegates from local unions. Negroes were on the platform, and one of them made an excellent address. A dinner meeting for all delegates had been arranged, but the hotel canceled the reservation at the last moment. No other dining place could be found, so the affair was called off. The time had passed when white union men banqueted while the Negro delegates fared as best they could.

The inner machinery of the union provides means for securing just treatment for Negro members. Our unions have stood four-square for equal pay for equal work. Negroes are included in all social-security benefits and in pension plans provided through union contracts. Of first significance to Negroes is the acknowledgment of themselves as persons entitled to democratic respect. Their white brothers in the industrial unions usually succeed in convincing Negro members that they will have not only a better living but also more decent treatment and politeness through a C. I. O. union.

Much has been won for Southern Negroes beyond the union boundaries. At the time of the first National Labor Relations Board hearing in Columbus, Georgia, when the textile workers were to vote for or against the Textile Workers' Union, I recall an elderly Negro who as he approached the ballot box stood still and looked up at the flag above it. He was so moved that he burst forth, "Look at that flag. It is the sign our government is behind us. I never was a citizen in these United States until now because I never could vote until my government gave me that right today." At a union council meeting I sat next to the secretary of a new local composed of Negro women—no white person was employed in the small plant. I asked the secretary what was the most important thing she had gained through the union. "Respect," she replied in a flash. "The boss can't come out in the plant any more and yell at us, or fire us if we answer him. The union takes care of all that now."

In the early years of organization in Memphis I frequently spoke at union meetings in the city. One evening I was asked to talk to a new group. The hall and the street were swarming with Negro men in their work-

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ing clothes. One group was expected; five were there waiting for us. They used the main hall of the little building and the office behind the hall, and three groups of men formed in the street. It was a stirring occasion, a working of democracy at the grass roots, and I was much moved. Looking back across the years it still amazes me that the handful of white men who led this movement were able to win the confidence of their colored brothers, and that the Negroes readily received the aid of these white men who talked about one union for all the workers in the plant.

Those meetings were deeply religious. A colored member would pray and lead the singing and give a blessing at the end. Once there was an elderly Negro who "lined out" the Lord's Prayer verse by verse while the others repeated the words after him. They were praying for more of the Kingdom of God on earth. Sometimes they would ask the white organizer to lead in prayer, and the white man always responded. If I was the one who prayed I was so moved by the spirit of the Negroes that it was hard to steady my voice.

The C. I. O. has brought more hope for progress to Negroes than any other social institution in the South—and that, sadly, includes the church. (If Negroes visit a white church they must sit carefully segregated.) It is a tragic fact that so far as I know *all* important efforts to organize unions in the South, A. F. of L. as well as C. I. O., have met the opposition of churches—not all churches, but enough to be significant. Dr. Liston Pope's "Mill Hands and Preachers" tells this story well. Management men who contribute largely to the church and sit in the pews seem to take it as their due that mill-village preachers should throw their weight against the union. I have had some painfully enlightening conversations with ministers of larger churches, as well as of mill churches, on this subject. Even today John Ramsay, C. I. O. director of church and community relations, and I are often called to towns where an evangelist or village preacher is attacking the C. I. O. This opposition was far worse ten or fifteen years ago, but it still persists.

Among my earliest recollections is the way Southerners excused the South's errors. The South could do no wrong. As I grew older and developed a more liberal view, I shocked other Southerners by pointing out our failures in democracy. It was hard to recognize what was wrong, because we were so used to it. We had assumed a complacency about this *un*-democracy which acted as a cloak to hide the truth. The South had fought, and lost, a war to save its undemocratic system. Its people looked backward for decades after the Civil War ended. Many people thought the salvation of Southern society lay in keeping out democracy. Harsh laws were passed for the express purpose of denying the rights of Negroes. The Southern states walled off from the benefits of American life a third of their people.

In recent years the wall has begun to crumble. While many forces have worked toward this end, the union movement has been at the forefront, drawing the energies of once prejudiced people into a joint endeavor that overcomes every barrier.

Southern Negro Leader

BY GEORGE PENTY and JAMES CROWN

WHEN the black-robed gentlemen of the Supreme Court took the political ball away from the white-robed men of the Klavern by their decisions concerning "white primaries," equal protection," and "due process," it remained for intelligent Negro leaders to translate the rights thus established into real values by exercising them as voters, as citizens. "Socio-economic-political" changes in the South are meaningless unless men with sufficient ability and courage take advantage of the new opportunities which they bring. In the South as elsewhere politics are people.

What are the main problems and techniques of an effective Negro political leader in the South? A representative example is operating today in a not atypical Southern state. In spite of his growing political importance, he is not widely known. In fact, some of his effectiveness would be lost if he were given too much publicity, and there is always the chance that an unreconstructed Klansman might try to do something to "keep him in his place." So we will call him Frank Taylor.

Fortyish, rather frail, Taylor usually wears an open-collar white sport shirt and a cap with a visor. He is a college graduate, but his manner is that of the small-town people with whom he lives and works. A ready sense of humor—an enormous asset in his job—lightens his fundamental seriousness. He is a new kind of political leader, nourished on Supreme Court decisions and brought to power by the death of the white primary. Some of his methods, though, are as old as American

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politics. His combination gas station and real-estate office serves as his political clubhouse; his salesmen and mechanics are his ward heelers, whom he directs in the basic job of registering and getting out the vote. Since his headquarters are in a county seat of 30,000 in which the Negro registration constitutes two-fifths of the Democratic total, his position with the sheriff and other local officials is fairly secure. These men are typical hometown politicians whose credo, as the saying goes, is to straddle the fence and keep both ears to the ground. They realize that Negro votes are needed for their reelection—the sheriff told friends during a recent campaign: "Wake up. This is 1950; you can't beat up niggers the way you used to." Taylor is able, therefore, to obtain from them various concessions of importance to the Negro community—relief from police brutality (he expects the town to have a Negro policeman soon), school repairs, more street lights, improved pavements, and playgrounds.

BEFORE sun-up during registration and voting drives Taylor fills up his old Chevvy with gas to tour the state. He pays special attention to rural counties where large-scale Negro registration is still relatively new and perilous. In each county he addresses an evening meeting of representatives from the Negro Voters League, the Elks, the N. A. A. C. P. (sometimes the chapter is underground), and as many ministers as will attend. Plans are laid for getting Negroes to register and vote. At election time Negro cabbies are persuaded to give Negro voters free rides to the polls. Commandeered cars are sent out to bring in the more distant voters.

In a recent senatorial campaign Taylor privately expressed deep resentment at the failure of the liberal incumbent to commit himself on civil-rights legislation but worked hard for his reelection since he had at least voted for cloture to prevent filibusters on civil-rights questions.

The candidate in return refrained from the race-baiting in which he had indulged in rural districts six years before. The small C. I. O. locals in the cities contributed money and leg work to the effort to register as many Negro voters as possible, but Taylor received little cooperation from the larger A. F. of L. locals, most of which are more opposed to civil rights than to Taft-Hartley. The size of the Negro vote for the candidate who had expressed strong opposition to civil-rights legislation showed the need for a vigorous educational campaign.

The efforts of men like Taylor have resulted in the registration of half the state's eligible Negro voters. This leaves a long road ahead, it is true, but in 1943 no Negroes were registered for the Democratic primary. In fact, ten years ago the leader of Taylor's community, an elderly undertaker named Williams, annually led his faithful into the party of Abraham Lincoln. Then when the Democratic primary was opened to Negroes in 1944 local politicians began to bid for his support. Williams was quite willing to deliver votes for such modest rewards as a new arc light in the corner of a school yard or a few truck loads of shell dumped into the craters in the main street of the Negro community. But soon his people began to demand a real assult on inequality. So Williams was replaced by Taylor, whose activities had shown he was the logical person to lead his people toward their goal.

Second only to registering and getting out the vote is the job of winning civil rights through the courts. Here Taylor's chief task is to raise funds, obtain adequate counsel, and follow the case to a conclusion. Negro teachers and business men have been the most generous contributors to the never really adequate defense funds. Very infrequently does Taylor get aid from white or inter-racial groups.

Taylor himself has been a plaintiff in only one case —a suit by Negro teachers to obtain equal pay that was tried and won by a Negro lawyer in the District Court. A teacher at the time, Taylor was fired immediately. His business side lines enabled him to continue his civil-rights fight. He even managed to get a teaching job in another county for a woman teacher who had also been fired as a result of the suit. Other victims of civil-rights violations have been placed by Taylor in state or private jobs.

More trained Negro lawyers in the state, a necessity if local civil rights are to have meaning, may result from a suit engineered by Taylor for the admission of Negro students to the state-supported law school. The state has no Negro law schools. Taylor chose the plaintiffs for their academic record, their courage, and their ability to fit in well with their fellow-students. One of them made a great hit when he spoke on the campus before the suit. He said to the students: "I want nothing more than to go to school here with you. I'm told there's only one thing that stands in my way. And [touching his skin with his hand] it won't rub off. The law will just have to give."

Taylor is often bitterly amused by the prejudice he encounters. A newly built Negro women's prison is still empty because its brick cottages are thought too nice for Negroes to live in. In its decision on the admission of Negroes to the law school, the state Supreme Court won-

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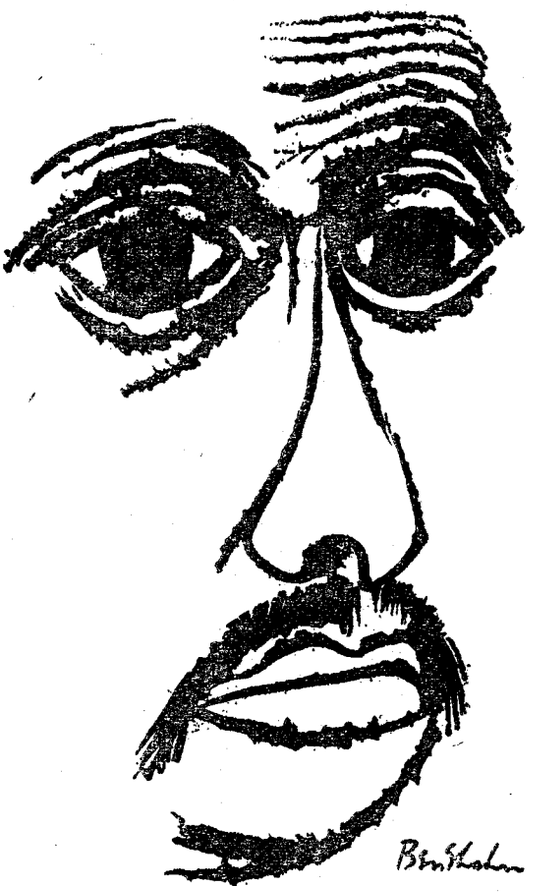
dered whether "any Negro could finish the law curriculum."

During one of the darkest hours for justice in his state Taylor worked to obtain counsel and money for the defense of two young men charged with the rape of a white girl. After visiting the men and seeing the physical abuse they had suffered in prison, Taylor told the little group gathered about him in his office that he feared the accused would be murdered by law-enforcement officers before they came to trial. Yet nothing could be done. It was perhaps the ultimate in frustration and helplessness. "Why don't you just clear out of this damn state?" a despairing friend asked Taylor. "I live here," he said.

Harry T. Moore



HARRY T. MOORE was a soft-spoken, self-effacing man. For seventeen years he went about Florida organizing conferences, investigating lynchings, protesting acts of police brutality. Organizer and first president (1934-39) of the Brevard County branch of the N. A. A. C. P., he also served as president of the association's State Conference from 1941 to 1946 and as state coordinator of branches from 1946 until his death. Under his leadership the State Conference grew from nine branches in 1941 to seventy-seven in 1947. When not working as a volunteer, he drew a meager salary which he usually had to raise himself. Some months he was paid; some months he went without.

Moore was a pioneer in the struggle to establish the principle of "equal pay for equal work" for Florida's Negro teachers. His militancy cost him his teaching job in 1945, and by way of further punishment his wife was also deprived of hers and did not get another for three years. In the wake of the Supreme Court's decision outlawing the white primary in April, 1944, Moore helped organize the Progressive Voters' League of Florida, which played an important part in opening the Democratic primary to Negro voters. When Sheriff Willis McCall of Lake County killed Samuel Shepherd, one of the Groveland defendants, in November, 1951, and seriously wounded Walter Lee Irvin, another defendant, Moore tried valiantly but unsuccessfully to bring about the indictment and prosecution of McCall.

On Christmas Day, 1951, less than two months after the murder of Shepherd, a dynamite bomb exploded beneath Moore's four-room cottage in an orange grove near Mims, Florida. The bomb had been placed directly beneath the bedroom where Moore and his wife were sleeping. The explosion wrecked the house and blew the Moores and their bed "to the roof." Hearing the blast, Sergeant George Sims, brother of Mrs. Moore, home on leave from Korea, came running from his house nearby and extricated the victims from the wreckage. They were taken to the nearest hospital in Sanford, where Moore was pronounced dead. His wife died on January 3, two days after the burial of her husband. As in most of the cases Moore had investigated for the N. A. A. C. P., the murderers were never brought to justice.

Harry T. Moore was a fine example of the Southern Negro leader—patient, courageous, determined to wipe out segregation and discrimination. The pictures of such leaders do not appear in the national magazines, and they seldom receive awards for "promoting interracial harmony." They do not—in most cases they dare not—appear on Town Meeting of the Air programs or move about in the spotlight of publicity. For them "civil rights" are not something to talk about at liberal luncheons in New York and Chicago but a milepost on the long, uphill road to freedom. Unfortunately, principles do not defend themselves; they must be defended by people. Southern Negroes of the type of Harry and Harriet Moore undertake the defense with little hope of reward or recognition and always at a price that too many Americans would regard as exorbitant. Their ultimate victory will be a day of triumph for all Americans.

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Democrats Versus Dixiecrats

BY CLARENCE MITCHELL

Washington, D. C.

A DROWNING man never asks, "Who threw that life preserver?" Southern politicians are not yet in the desperate position of a drowning man, but neither are they looking askance at life preservers in the form of colored votes.

There are 5,554,000 colored people aged twenty-one and over in the South. More than one million of them are registered voters. The potential Negro vote is even larger when persons eighteen and over, who may vote in Georgia, are included. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations are currently working to increase the registration to two million by November.

The colored vote helped to pull Senator Olin Johnston of South Carolina back into the United States Senate in 1950 when he was in a tough contest with Dixiecrat Strom Thurmond. A large part of the colored vote went to Johnston because he was the lesser evil. His election was assured when he got 186,180 votes over Thurmond's 158,904. More than 100,000 colored voters are registered in the state.

Many remember the rough anti-Negro, race-baiting campaign waged by Representative Smathers of Florida when he defeated the incumbent Claude Pepper for the Senate in 1950. Yet Smathers realized the importance of the colored vote and even tried to make a kind of underground appeal for it. The St. Petersburg *Times* of January 26, 1950, carried an interesting story about Smathers running out on a meeting in a colored church. According to the *Times*:

> The meeting was called off at 10 p. m. The reason given by Reverend G. W. Jenkins, pastor, was that Smathers "has made several speeches today and was about hoarse and not able to talk." However, when Smathers's local manager, Johnny Burroughs, learned at the Detroit Hotel that the *Times* planned news and photo coverage of the Negro meeting, he told a reporter and photographer, "If you're going to take photographs, we'll just call the meeting off." The reporter and photographer were on hand in front of the church at 9:30 p. m. when Smathers, Burroughs, and their party pulled up in a car and parked across the street from the church. As the two *Times* men stood in view, Negro leaders conferred with Smathers, Burroughs, and other campaign aides. They did not cross the street to the church, but at 10 p. m. Reverend Jenkins came back to the church to announce to those inside that the meeting had been canceled.

Another sign that the Southern election picture is changing comes from North Carolina. In its May 31, 1952, issue, the *Carolina Times*, a colored weekly newspaper, carried advertisements of candidates for Congress, Commissioner of Insurance, the County Commission, the Board of Education, the state Supreme Court, and several other offices. None of these candidates could be considered pro-civil-rights men. All the advertisements simply stressed that the office seekers would be "fair." Representative Carl Durham promised to be "fair and equal—that's the kind of representation you really want." Bill Umstead, candidate for governor, looking sternly out of the framework of a two-column ad, advised voters that their support would be "appreciated" because he was "capable and fair." An editorial in the same edition, however, clearly indicated that the paper did not think Mr. Umstead was fair and would not support him.

Under the leadership of Kelly M. Alexander of Charlotte, North Carolinians have canvassed nine Congressional districts to increase the number of registered colored voters. There are now more than 75,000 on the books. In April of 1952 the N. A. A. C. P. held a meeting in Atlanta to map strategy for increasing Negro registration in the South. In the reports presented Texas claimed 200,000 colored voters. Alabama has nearly 100,000 colored veterans who are "getting on the books." Florida estimated that its registration topped 100,000. It is possible that if Senator Tom Connally of Texas had been able to count on the Negro vote in his home state, he would not have quit the race for the Democratic nomination. Many other Southern officeholders, looking at the rising number of registered Negro voters, are learning to pronounce the word "Negro" with a long *e* and *o* instead of saying "Nigra," the time-honored Southern way of insulting colored people without actually using an epithet. In the last election the Negro vote in the South punctured the Dixiecrat balloon so badly that no sensible man dares run under that banner in November. The Negro vote in Florida, North Carolina, Texas, and Virginia is likely to determine whether these states fall in the Republican column.

The dream of getting from Republicans the kind of anti-civil-rights Administration they want may end in a

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Model Civil-Rights Platform

We pledge our party to take action on the opening day of the Eighty-third Congress in January, 1953, to induce the Senate to adopt rules that will permit a majority of Senators present and voting to limit and close debate.

We pledge enactment of federal legislation prohibiting discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, or national origin, and establishing a federal agency to enforce that prohibition.

We pledge our efforts to obtain prohibition by law of segregation in interstate transportation and the elimination of segregation by legislative or executive action in all activities of the federal government and in all areas to which federal authority extends.

We pledge enactment of federal legislation making lynching and other mob assaults on persons or property because of race, color, religion, or national origin a federal crime.

We favor the enactment of federal legislation abolishing the poll tax as a prerequisite to the right to vote in elections of federal officials and providing punishment for interference with the right to register and vote in primary or general federal elections. We favor also the outlawing of interference, for reasons of race or color, with the right to register for or vote in primary or general state and local elections.

We pledge appropriate Congressional action to elevate the status of the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice to that of a full division of the department, headed by an assistant attorney general.

We pledge the establishment of a permanent United States Commission on Civil Rights to make a continuous appraisal of civil rights and to recommend action.

We pledge that immediate statehood shall be granted to Alaska and Hawaii.

We pledge immediate action by Congress granting home rule to the citizens of the District of Columbia.

The foregoing planks have been indorsed by the following organizations:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR; AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE; AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS; AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE; AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION; ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH; BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, A. F. OF L.; CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL; CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS; NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE; AND SOME TWENTY OTHERS.

rude awakening for Southerners who plan to bolt the Democratic ticket. A continued retreat from civil rights may cost the Republican Party Senate seats in Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Ohio in the coming elections. In all these states G. O. P. candidates face a formidable group of colored voters who may cause their defeat.

Republican liberals, among them Senator Ives of New York and Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, are trying to overcome the handicap of a watered-down civil-rights platform by pledging support for a Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission with enforcement powers if Eisenhower is elected. No other civil-rights measure has been the center of such heated controversy. Senator Russell of Georgia has called it a "jail-sentence bill." Senator Humphrey of Minnesota has long contended that its opponents have never read it. Certainly they failed to recognize it when Humphrey and Ives reported it out from the Senate Labor Committee in the closing days of the Eighty-second Congress after changing its name to Federal Equality of Opportunity in Employment Act and spelling out a provision which makes it possible for the agency administering the law to cede jurisdiction on its own volition to states that have similar laws. Newspapermen and politicians, noting the name change and the provision for ceding jurisdiction, immediately concluded that it was a "mild bill." Actually, of course, the bill is exactly what civil-rights advocates have demanded. Court enforcement of its orders, after proper judicial review, is provided for the commission as for other government agencies. No other kind of enforcement was ever requested by its proponents.

Senator Taft, eager to obtain the full support of the South in his bid for the Republican nomination, was quick to go on record against the bill. Senator Nixon has long been a foe of an F. E. P. C. with enforcement powers. On this score there is almost no difference between his voting record and that of his rival for the Vice-Presidency, Senator Sparkman of Alabama.

SOUTHERN politicians brought up on a diet of sorghum, corn bread, and race hate can close their eyes to the colored vote, but many of the region's newer leaders are wide-awake men. While loudly denouncing civil rights, they thoughtfully rub their Phi Beta Kappa keys and look around for a more effective rallying-cry than white supremacy. They would welcome a chance to soft-pedal the race question in favor of economic issues or foreign policy. At one of the numerous caucuses held during the Democratic National Convention a delegate reported: "Texans say the hell with that anti-civil-rights fight; we want control of tidelands oil."

The rear-guard fight against progress continues, but it is merely a holding action. Ambitious young Southerners like Senator Estes Kefauver are not willing to adopt Old Guard standards and thereby disqualify themselves as Presidential candidates or Supreme Court justices. Even Kefauver, who is more advanced than most of his colleagues from the South, found his past opposition to civil rights a severe handicap when he sought a national post.

Conservative elements in the South are beginning to

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realize that once the civil-rights issue is settled Negroes will tend to vote along economic and class lines. Colored landlords who derive their incomes from slum property oppose rent control and slum clearance just as vigorously as their white counterparts. Many Negro business men think that taxes are too high; many Negro doctors cast a jaundiced eye on so-called "schemes for socialized medicine via federal health insurance"; there are Negro members of the bar in the South who would certainly be states' righters if they already had civil rights.

Bona fide liberals have been trying to get rid of the race issue because they honestly believe in the equality of man. Seldom does the spirit of fair play burn more brightly than in the native white Southerner who has taken up the fight against racial discrimination. Unfortunately, most of the liberals are not yet ready to make a fight. They are too much afraid of the social ostracism that would surely follow.

Liberal thinking in the South has been stimulated by some admirably objective newspaper reporting. John Popham of the New York *Times*, who is equally at ease when talking with Governor Byrnes of South Carolina or Walter White of the N. A. A. C. P., is typical of Southern-born writers who report the news without slanting it.

Eloquent testimony on why liberal elements of the South need the colored vote can be found in the record of the Senate Labor Committee's 1950 Hearings on Labor-Management Relations in the Southern Textile Manufacturing Industry. Mrs. Edna Martin, a white woman, was bound and gagged, thrown into a truck, and left on a lonely country road because she tried to organize workers in Tallapoosa, Georgia. Her statement to the committee shows that federal legislation against lynching and mob violence would reassure white people as well as colored. "This whole experience" she said, "has been a mental as well as a physical shock and injury. Bruised as my body is, I am more mentally bruised than I am bodily bruised. It seems a fantastic nightmare that a law-abiding individual, engaged on legitimate business, should go through such an experience in a Georgia town—a state I had thought civilized."

THE Democratic Party is no longer a white man's party in the South. This fact was responsible for the abortive Dixiecrat movement. Now the discontented elements have decided to join the Republican Party—provided, of course, it respects the "economic customs and traditions of the South." Maryland is an example of the changing political pattern in the South. Once it was the uncontested stronghold of the Democrats; now, with the blessing of the conservative Baltimore *Sun* newspapers, "respectable" Maryland leaders are rooting for the Republican ticket. The state's Republican

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governor is busily wooing Dixiecrats for Eisenhower.

In the main, the revival of a two-party system in the South will mean that one of the parties will become the home of the "world citizen" type of voter whose thinking is not stultified by race prejudice. Such voters will make it increasingly safe for liberals already in office to tell the truth about why they oppose or favor a given issue. Able Southerners will have greater influence in foreign relations because they will not be forced to walk into every international meeting with the American race problem hanging around their necks.

Hopeful signs appear here and there. In Fayetteville, North Carolina, the center of the town is marred by an old slave market. But a colored man was recently elected to the City Council. The day is not distant when at least a dozen Congressional districts in the South will send colored Representatives to Washington. In parts of Alabama where more than 50 per cent of the population is colored rigid limitations have been imposed on the colored vote, but the log jam is breaking. It is also breaking in the black-belt areas of North and South Carolina and even in Mississippi.

Representative William L. Dawson, Democrat, of Illinois, has a Currier and Ives print on his office wall showing Senator Hiram R. Revels of Mississippi with the eight colored Representatives in the Forty-first and Forty-second Congress. In the Eighty-fourth Congress the same states may again have Negroes in their Congressional delegations. And so may Maryland, North Carolina, and Texas. The mere presence of these men in office will be a tremendous selling point for democracy throughout the world.

Ah, Gettysburg, Where Is Thy Sting?

BY TARLETON COLLIER

Louisville, Kentucky

POLITICAL practitioners among Southern Democrats this year went to the Chicago convention rather pleased with themselves. After nearly sixteen years of one checkered venture in self-assertion after another, they had arrived at a habitation bearing the sign: Russell and Respectability. They had a candidate of their own, orthodox, regular, and able. It was a fact to prove, they insisted, that they were not Dixiecrats.

The tacticians of 1952 were full of experience gained in lost and losing causes that began around 1936. It was then that local Liberty Leaguers carefully eyed such figures as Huey Long and, after his death, Eugene Talmadge to appraise their potentialities as tools for recovering the social and economic status quo for which until then the Democratic Party in the South had stood. It is fascinating to recall that one of their targets in 1936 was Dick Russell, running for renomination to the Senate on the New Deal team. In 1940 the wistful Democrats-for-Willkie made only a vague contribution; but in 1944 Texas Regulars and thwarted Mississippians added a bright new gadget. This was the idea of hijacking or expropriating their states' electoral votes. Four years later the passionate rabble of Thurmond-Wright states'-rights Democrats, with their regularity be damned, rounded out a period of experimentation in the techniques of revolt—or, as the political Southerner preferred to put it, of resistance.

Experience had brought them back to tried and true devices, of which the models are the Senate filibuster, the House Rules Committee's contrived power for suppression, and the indispensable combination of these two—the tactical union of Southern Democrats and Republicans in Congress when need presses. The devices have worked. Their working brought by natural steps and accretions the strategy of 1952. The Russell candidacy was an elaboration of the principles of the filibuster and their extension from the legislative to the national political field. It implied the same threat of stalemate and destruction. The alternative was the same —an invitation to the opposing party to come and pick up the pieces.

The idea is not new in American history. Franklin D. Roosevelt adopted it when, in 1938, he set about the "purge" of conservative Southern Senators then up for reelection. He lost his fight, in a way disastrously; and though he made a point, it was not generally clear. He might have fared even worse in subsequent relations with Congress but for the growing international crisis, the defense program, and then war.

The war was still on when the pent-up political forces exploded in the House of Representatives on the first day and almost the first hour of the Seventy-ninth Congress, January 4, 1945. John Rankin of Mississippi rose to move a change in the rules of the House that would give permanent status to the Committee on Un-American Activities. Needless here to recall the background and meaning of this move. It was pointed at the Administration. When the smoke and dust from the blitz had settled, the form of the coalition was revealed. Seventy

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Democrats, of whom 63 were from the states of the old Confederacy, had voted with 137 Republicans to overcome 150 Democrats and 34 Republicans.

Four days later and several hundred miles away, I learned by accident what this meant in terms of practical operation. The occasion was a glittering one, the inauguration of Ralph E. Gates as governor of Indiana in the lobby of the state capitol in Indianapolis. The G. O. P. sweep had been complete, and the festival was appropriately gay. Behind me a late arrival slipped into a seat and began an excited, half-whispered conversation with an acquaintance. "We've got a way to stop them now," he said. From the context it was plain that he was talking about the Democratic Administration. "They can't do a thing. Did you see that vote in the House the other day? We can do it any time we want to." A backward glance showed the voice of elation belonged to one of the younger Indiana Republicans.

Shortly afterward the power of the coalition was tested again. An anti-poll-tax bill, sailing as usual through the House, was slowed in the Senate by the routine of a filibuster. A motion to limit debate and thus break the obstruction was defeated. To carry, it needed two-thirds of the votes or, on the day's attendance, fifty-six. It got only forty-eight votes to thirty-six opposing. Thus eight votes made the difference. Quite remarkably, the number of Republicans who voted with Southern Senators for unlimited debate was eight.

The coalition acquired that year of 1945 a routine smoothness, and other cases might be recalled. After Roosevelt's death the hobbling process was so marked that Senator Mead was moved to dire warnings. If the trend to Administration paralysis kept up, he said gloomily, the Republicans would win the next election. This made him quite a prophet. The election fashioned the Eightieth Congress, and for two years the coalition largely lost its point, though its elements remained. These showed up less in votes on the floor than in the repressions by kindred spirits in the Rules Committee.

For a brief spell before the glow of President Truman's 1948 victory faded it began to look as if wonders had indeed been wrought. At the opening of the Eighty-first Congress in January, 1949, with the Democrats back in the saddle, Administration supporters by a swift maneuver broke the Rules Committee's power to block legislation. A way was opened to bring bills out for action despite the committee's Dixiecrat-Republican majority combination. After the committee had sat on a bill for twenty-one days, the House might force it out by general vote. The point of the new arrangement was apparent when House members dislodged from the committee's death grip an anti-poll-tax measure and bills to admit Alaska and Hawaii to the Union.

BUT all this was to no purpose, for now, moving into the Senate, the Administration crowded its luck. An attempt was made through the Hayden-Wherry resolution to broaden the cloture rule. With Senator Russell as field commander, Southern Senators moved to their stations for a filibuster to save filibusters. Out of the parliamentary welter of points of order, rulings, overrulings, coalitions, and compromises, the Southerners emerged in complete triumph, the filibuster intrenched immovably. They had won a new rule which required two-thirds of the entire membership—it had been two-thirds of those voting—to stop debate. The real gimmick, however, was the new rule's denial of any limitation at all on debate over changing the Senate's rules. Going along with Southern Senators in the key vote—a close forty-six to forty-one—to upset Vice-President Barkley's ruling for cloture on motions were the usual handy and significantly sufficient Republicans.

Ah, Gettysburg, where is thy sting; ah, Appomattox, thy victory? For all practical purposes, any serious thought of enacting laws objectionable to the Southern representation—and this means, of course, civil rights—was over. The triumph was sealed by the 1950 elections, which brought defeat to Senators Graham, Lucas, Myers, Pepper, Taylor, and Thomas of Utah, mainly on issues identified with the Administration. On the tide of developments the House lost no time in repealing the twenty-one-day rule for taking bills from the Rules Committee. Proposed by Eugene E. Cox of Georgia, the repeal was carried 244 to 178. Voting with 92 Democrats, all from the South, to recapture for the committee its power to gag legislation were 152 Republicans. On the other side were 136 Democrats and 42 Republicans. In the Senate the Southern wing gave a casual and now

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almost routine demonstration of power by putting in McFarland of Arizona as majority leader over the Administration's candidate, O'Mahoney.

ALL this, of course, led one and all to look to Chicago as the critical battleground. Southerners went there clothed in a special insouciance. Take us or leave us, they said, in almost those words. The Republicans had gone for Ike and Popularity, and the Democrats would need the South as they had not needed it since 1932. The ensuing events, however, still have some of the more passionate Dixiecrats blinking, uncertain as to what happened. They were embraced by the convention in spite of themselves. They saw the arms outstretched, the letter of the "loyalty pledge" brushed aside; and then for all their intentions they were engulfed in a *modus vivendi*. They saw the shape of the platform as through a haze, and it was only later that their bemused eyes made out the details of the civil-rights plank and in particular the pledge of opposition to their sanctified filibuster. They stuck with Russell to the end, but somehow this self-rationalization had lost a little of its unction. They were in the army, no matter if impressed; and the actions of the Credentials Committee on the Mississippi and Texas delegations, the action of the whole convention on Virginia, South Carolina, and Louisiana, had imposed obligations to stay in, however reluctantly.

The personality and appeal of Eisenhower discourage the dreamers who until recently saw the refreshed splendid vision of 1948, a Southern candidate to deadlock the Electoral College and throw the election into the House. The choice this year is sharpened by reality. The old paradise of the status quo has been shaken. Whatever schemes are laid, none now looks beyond more than a limited sojourn in the garden of white supremacy and segregation. There are signs that this fact is accepted, along with the fact of new forces in the South—the growing urbanism and industrialism, and principally the enfranchised Negro millions who, once they get into the swing of voting and harken to their intelligent and moderate leaders, will vote Democratic with an eye on local administration, schools, and a new quality of representation. For example, only the artifice of the county-unit system kept this new force from picking a Representative in Georgia's Fifth Congressional District (Atlanta) a few months ago.

But perhaps it is just because they are aware of these prospects that the Dixiecrats and their 1952 counterparts continue to press their cause so furiously, with so many threats of a flight to Eisenhower. They hold out in a kind of pathological way against it, thinking to keep their forefathers quiet in moldering graves; but it would be a firming—indeed, the only natural consummation—of the Republican-Democratic alliance,

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Boyhood of Mark Twain

SAM CLEMENS OF HANNIBAL. By Dixon Wecter. Houghton Mifflin Company. $4.

REPORT FROM PARADISE. By Mark Twain. With Drawings by Charles Locke and an Introduction by Dixon Wecter. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

THE late Dixon Wecter's work from the time he became editor of the Mark Twain Estate in 1946 inaugurated a new phase in Mark Twain scholarship. For a generation after Twain's death in 1910 the most urgent problems were critical: to determine what kind of artist he was and what rank he should hold in our literature. At the beginning of this period attitudes were so confused that "The Mysterious Stranger" could be published posthumously as a lavishly illustrated boys' book for the Christmas trade. Van Wyck Brooks's tendentious but challenging "The Ordeal of Mark Twain" (1920) and Bernard DeVoto's bellicose rejoinder in "Mark Twain's America" (1932) brought the discussion into relation with central issues of American intellectual life and demonstrated by example that Mark Twain deserved serious study. By the 1940's a remarkable degree of unanimity had been reached concerning his status. With the recent accolades of Lionel Trilling and T. S. Eliot he has become the one American writer enthusiastically accepted both by the general public and by highbrow critics.

The growing recognition of Mark Twain's importance naturally directed attention to his biography. From the 1930's onward a series of special studies —notably those of Minnie M. Brashear, Franklin Walker, Ivan Benson, and Kenneth R. Andrews—have illuminated the varied environments, from San Francisco to Hartford, in which he lived, and more recently Edgar M. Branch and other bibliographers have begun the back-breaking task of working out the canon of his writings by patient search of forgotten newspapers and magazines. Wecter committed himself to the enterprise of bringing together the results of previous researches, assembling all known Mark Twain manuscripts, and following every lead to the end. We are not likely to find out much more about Sam Clemens's first seventeen years than is set forth in the present volume.

So full an account of the circumstances of everyday life in a bygone age is valuable in its own right. The image of Hannibal in the 1840's which Wecter builds up is a major contribution to social history entirely apart from the fact that one of the urchins who climbed Holliday's Hill or explored Glasscock's Island would later write "Huckleberry Finn." And for the most part the biographer conceives his function to be simply that of describing accurately a small boy growing up in a Missouri river town. Yet it happens, as he remarks, that "no major artist ever made more of his boyhood than did Sam Clemens." Sam's experience of Hannibal, as unliterary in itself as can well be imagined, has a very special relation to literature because it later became the raw material for most of Mark Twain's books. The memory of that little community—population 1,034 in 1840—remained almost obsessively with him throughout his life. It gave him his basic vocabulary of symbols. The vocabulary was not complete—it provided, for example, virtually no means of dealing with sexual love or with intellectual subtleties—but it could be adapted to a wide range of expressive intentions, from the affirmations of "Huckleberry Finn" to the bitter negatives of "The Mysterious Stranger."

Wecter knows that the writer's original experience cannot be equated with his imaginative reshaping of it in a one-to-one identity. Yet he recognizes that the close dependence of all Mark Twain's best work—and many of his failures—on memories of boyhood creates a special problem. The biographer's handling of the problem is circumspect. What he might have done in later volumes when he encountered Mark Twain's works in chronological order is of course beyond conjecture. Here he contents himself with the notations that force themselves upon him amid the abundance of his data: such as the names of eight members of the family of Tom Blankenship, "the original of Huck Finn," together with Tom's age (four to five years older than Sam), from the manuscript returns of the Census of 1850; or the appropriation of $8.25 from the county treasury to bury "James Finn a pauper," the town drunkard who "furnished the name and most of the attributes of Huck's pappy." Despite the fact that such relationships between actual and imaginary characters are often, as in these instances, validated by Mark Twain himself, they perhaps add little to our reading so long as we take them one by one. But Wecter gives us dozens of similar details, and the cumulative effect is a quite unprecedented vividness and solidity of specification. It would be an absurdity of critical purism to maintain that evidence concerning Mark Twain's use of boyhood memories has no bearing on an adequate understanding of his work. To mention only one example, the fact that Tom Blankenship was considerably older than Sam Clemens throws new light on the inconsistencies which critics have noted in the apparent ages of Tom Sawyer and Huck, and the markedly greater maturity of outlook which distinguishes "Huckleberry Finn" from the earlier novel.

In Mark Twain's later life the image of Hannibal came to have a very broad meaning for him. As Wecter points out, it "was associated in his heart with pre-industrial, pre-Gold Rush, pre-Civil War tranquillity—the old halcyon small-town America emerging from the rigors of the frontier yet not stripped wholly of its buckskin spirit of adventure, nor of its daily communion with an unspoiled nature. . . ." At the same time, the image had a narrower, more intense meaning derived from his early emotional life within his family. Hannibal included his austere, "free-thinking" father, whose intransigent personal integrity can be felt at work in crises of Mark Twain's mature years like the bankruptcy of 1894. Hannibal also included his mother, "a dancer from childhood to the end"—a slight woman who adored red and did not like "anything

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that's low and solemn," and who clearly fostered in her son his "lifelong indignation against bullies and other shapes of overmastering power." But the most relevant of Jane Lampton's traits, for a future writer, was the "moving and pathetic eloquence," "the enchanted tongue," that the son later declared to be unmatched in all his acquaintance.

In his search of A. B. Paine's biography for traumatic childhood experiences, Van Wyck Brooks laid great emphasis on the action of Sam's mother in making him promise by the side of his father's coffin "to be a better boy." The emphasis has come to seem exaggerated and misleading. Wecter, without constructing an elaborate thesis, has uncovered an experience connected with the father's death which must have been much more disturbing to the eleven-year-old boy. It seems beyond question that Sam secretly watched through the keyhole an autopsy on the body of his father, was so profoundly shocked by this indignity to the corpse that he referred to it more than fifty years later in his notebook, and bore a lifelong grudge against the family doctor who performed the autopsy.

Wecter's introduction to two brief works of Mark Twain bracketed under the title "Report from Paradise" carefully discusses the circumstances of composition and the involved textual problems. Two introductory chapters are added to the previously published version of the delightful "Extract from Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven," increasing the length of the text by about a third. The "Letter from the Recording Angel" was first published by Bernard DeVoto in *Harper's Magazine* in 1946. It is an impressive example of what Wecter rightly calls the "transcendent" quality of Mark Twain's indignation, in this instance aroused by what he considered the stinginess and hypocrisy of his wife's uncle, Andrew Langdon. Both works illustrate the writer's repudiation of the crude eschatology taught him in his childhood, and both are remarkable for their humanitarian spirit. Drawings by Charles Locke—who successfully risks graphic representation of Stormfield's bearded angels, wings and all—and typography by the Golden Hind Press make this an unusually charming volume.

HENRY NASH SMITH

Dead Economists and Living Problems

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC THOUGHT. Edited by Henry William Spiegel. John Wiley and Sons. $6.50.

THIS collection of intellectual portraits of eminent economists by their peers proves very quickly that economists can write good, even graceful prose when stimulated by thought of their illustrious colleagues, living or dead.

Not that any of these essays savor of the obituary notice. Although most of the authors admire their subjects, sharp criticism abounds. Mill forgives Bentham with difficulty for the Benthamite education he received from his father. List regards Say as shallow, repellent, and French. Veblen convicts Marx of Hegel's sins. There is more than a touch of irony, intended or not, in the anthology's arrangement. No sooner, it seems, does Marx finish dissecting the Physiocrats than he must face Veblen. Next Mitchell operates on Veblen; and Burns, more sympathetically, portrays Mitchell in his turn. Is a retributive justice at work in this as in other chains of criticism?

But this fascinating book offers a good deal more than literary fun and games. It combines many of the attractions of good cultural and good economic history. There is no better or livelier way of understanding how the ideas and problems of an age combine to produce its economic treatises than to read Tawney on medieval economic thought, Heckscher on the Mercantilists, or Paul Douglas, from his previous incarnation, on Adam Smith. Smith is a clear example of the process. Moral philosopher by trade, Scotsman by birth and inclination, he saw with the clarity of his genius that the economic problem of his day was the appropriate role of government in economic affairs. He reached his free-trade solution by liberal and judicious borrowing from the ideas of his century: the concept of the Natural Order he took from the Physiocrats, the labor theory of value and the primacy of self-interest from Locke and Hume.

In this as in much else Smith set a pattern. Even the rebels have borrowed

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liberally, although they have usually been roused to economic theory by problems their more respectable associates ignored. Marx combined, frequently without credit, the insights of, among others, Sismondi, Rodbertus, Proudhon, Hegel, Ricardo, Smith, and the Ricardian Socialists: he was, after all, one of the prodigious readers of modern times. Henry George's single tax was a simple inference from the theories of the Physiocrats. Keynes used the neo-classical apparatus of economic analysis to solve a problem slurred by his predecessors, the problem of unemployment. And so it has gone.

Old problems and old ideas seldom completely disappear. We perceive with a start, perhaps, that though Malthus may be quaint he is not obsolete, at least in India and China. And we may feel very superior indeed to the Mercantilists until we realize that we are among the leaders in the application of Mercantilist devices: import quotas, subsidies to merchant marine and airlines, tariffs and exchange controls. Unemployment worried Malthus before it stimulated Keynes. Protective tariffs found favor with List before some modern Keynesians adopted them.

There is greater contrast between old and new in techniques than in problems and ideas. In less than two centuries economics has moved from the distrust of "political arithmetic" expressed by Adam Smith at a time when statisticians could not decide whether the population of England in the preceding century had increased or decreased, to the massive, ordered compilations of such private and public agencies as the National Bureau of Economic Research and the Department of Commerce. It has advanced from Malthus's charming ratios, arithmetic and geometric, to the differential calculus of Jevons in the 1870's and the higher reaches of mathematics attained by the econometricians in 1952. Ricardo's vague and general notions of supply and demand have been replaced by the elegancies of modern graphic analysis. Search for a standard of value has given way to the construction of index numbers. A slightly spurious precision is now the mark of economic theory.

Somewhere along the route economics ceased to be a diversion for gentlemen and became this complex, difficult technique equipped with language of its own. As it lost its unity of approach and became increasingly uncertain about ethical and political values, it divided into a collection of specialties. Here too economics has been true to its age. The teasing question plagues us as we leave the section on the moderns in this book: Has division of labor gone too far in economics? When a leading theorist of business cycles is able to write a book which only cursorily mentions the leading statistical investigators of the same phenomenon, a neutral wonders whether economics' gain in technique has not been exceeded by its loss of the classical economist's ability to generalize widely from all the facts. It is a sad fact that all the wondrous devices of modern economics add up to neither successful prediction nor firm control of economic vicissitudes. By these tests the progress of economics in the last two centuries is less substantial and its future less bright than its feats of technique suggest.

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Magic-Lantern Show

CHIAROSCURO. Fragments of Autobiography. By Augustus John. Pellegrini and Cudahy. $5.

NARROWLY escaping enrolment in the category of the 'naughty nineties,' I got in with the tail-end of that period, and with the infallible instinct of youth reacted violently against it." Since all things, even revolts, are relative, Mr. John is no doubt right. But one of the charms of his book is that it evokes the atmosphere of a spacious bohemianism a good deal more like that of the nineties than one is likely to find even in reminiscences from a later epoch. He became, of course, one of the most successful and esteemed portrait painters of the century, and he does occasionally make reference to some of his famous sitters, from Bernard Shaw and Lord Leverhulme to the then Crown Prince Hirohito of Japan. But from his reminiscences one would hardly guess that he had ever done much except frequent cafes, associate with gipsies, wander over England in caravans, poke about in the more picturesque corners of Europe, and meet in one way or another many of the great as well as an even larger proportion of the eccentrics of his age. An unrepentant hedonist and obviously little inclined to take seriously either the respectability into which he was born or the new earnestness of the post-war world, he nevertheless has come to no bad end and seems pleased though not surprised that this should be so. Apropos a youthful episode he says, "I have learned since that sex is the greatest joke in the world," and that remark, like a good many others, has an unmistakable "period flavor."

Born of a mother who died young and of a quiet, ultra-conventional father who practiced law in Wales, he grew up more sympathetic with the raffish elements in the community than with the female relatives who enthusiastically participated in the affairs of the Salvation Army. Later he was permitted to enrol at the Slade School because it did not seem likely that he would do well at anything else. But of his professional life from then on one learns little from this book and practically nothing about the steps by which he achieved success —hardly, indeed, that he achieved it. There are almost no dates and no connectives, only a sort of magic-lantern show composed of snapshots of interesting people against interesting backgrounds. But Mr. John is a good showman, and he has a way with words both when he uses them to make a phrase—generally slightly sardonic—and when he draws a scene or a person with quietly deft touches.

Painters often hold very extreme opinions and express themselves violently, sometimes, perhaps, just because they have difficulty in saying things with words. Mr. John, being able to say just what he means, is never violent and seems never to have allowed the follies of the world to disturb him much. But that does not mean that he has not an opinion or that he conceals it. Where another would have raged at bad taste or at the modern artist's *bête noire,* prudery, Mr. John says only, "The marble statue of the Prince Consort still adorns the Castle Hill: unmellowed by the years, it is as fresh as when it came from the factory," or, speaking of the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh, "The Hall of Sculpture presents a comprehensive collection of casts from the antique, incomplete only in the case of male personages, through the absence of certain homely but necessary features, amputated at the request of Mr. Carnegie himself."

For all his association with the great, Mr. John is no uncritical hero-worshiper, and his impressions of fellow-artists as well as of the famous in other fields are often quietly acid even in the case of persons whom, on the whole, he obviously respects. Oscar Wilde he met only After the Fall, and he gives him his own back in a very Wildean paragraph: "Wilde seemed to be an easy-going sort of genius, with an enormous sense of fun, infallible bad taste, gleams of profundity, and a romantic apprehension of the devil. A great man of inaction, he showed, I think, sound judgment when in his greatest dilemma he chose to sit tight (in every sense) and await the police." Shaw's tendency to make speeches he thought trying; Joyce and D. H. Lawrence he seems to have found more attractive. He can also be quietly malicious on the subject of his fellow-artists—sometimes venomously, as when he remarks that Sir William Orpen "with his infinite capacity for avoiding pains, soon made a success of

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his portrait painting"; sometimes only in the spirit of good rough fun, as when, apropos some discussion of a new religion, he says that Jacob Epstein's "would be realized by the apotheosis of himself on a colossal scale, alone, blowing his own trumpet."

Of his own ideals and aims as a painter he says as little as he does of his professional career, but there are nearly a score of good plates to illustrate them and one passing remark which is probably a pretty good negative summary of his theory: "To see with other people's eyes is the secret of successful mediocrity." If these fragments of an autobiography do not reveal much about the artist, they reveal a good deal of the man—not because he says much about himself but because a gallery of portraits adds up to a pretty good picture of the man who made them.

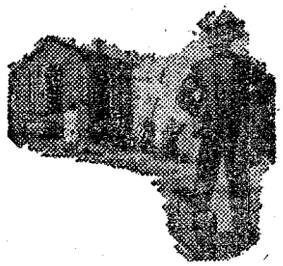
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

During the Troubles

THE LAST SEPTEMBER. By Elizabeth Bowen. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

"THE LAST SEPTEMBER," Elizabeth Bowen's second novel, was published in 1929. It has been reissued with a preface in which she discusses its genesis and the problems the writing caused her. Like her other comments on her own work these seven pages are important for anyone concerned with the art of fiction.

It is set in the time of the Irish Troubles—in September, 1920, to be exact. Most of the action occurs in a large country house long occupied by an Anglo-Irish family. The house, Miss Bowen says, is her own Bowen's Court, just as the nineteen-year-old Lois, the central figure, "derives from, but is not, myself." The novel, indeed, is never merely topical or merely autobiographical. I have spoken of the "action"; yet almost nothing happens until the last pages. The Anglo-Irish gentry, torn between the closest ties with Ireland and traditional loyalties to England, attempt to carry on life as usual, though ambushes are frequent and skirmishes abound. The contrast between a way of life that is drawing to an end and a countryside in the middle of a revolution is beautifully drawn. These people receive, not quite willingly but with unfailing politeness, the officers of the



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local British garrison and, less willingly still, see their daughters involved in flirtations with them. Sometimes consequences arise. Thinking that she may be in love with Gerald, an earnest young subaltern, Lois becomes more or less engaged to him. But there is never any serious domestic trouble, for Gerald is ambushed and shot and Lois is sent off to Tours to improve her French. And, in February, Danielstown, the house, is burned by the insurgents, one of many great houses gutted during the Troubles.

This is the first of Miss Bowen's books to deal at length with her favorite theme: the special anguish and confusion which devastate the unawakened heart and the unaroused sensibility of the well-brought-up young girl. For Lois is not in love with Gerald. Her tragedy, Miss Bowen says, was only "that he should die knowing she could not love him." No more does she have any awareness of the political drama going on about her. Something remains to happen to her which will shock her into a direct connection with life.

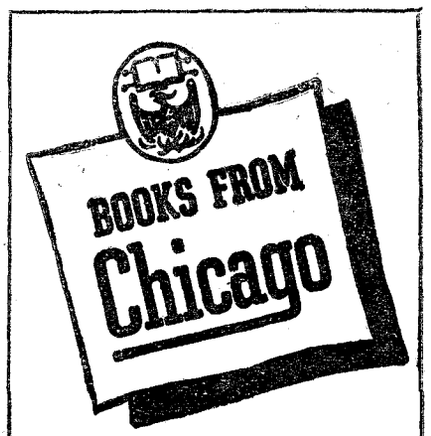
The relation of "The Last September" to Miss Bowen's later novels is clear. "To the North," "The House in Paris," "The Death of the Heart"—these in particular are concerned, one way or another, with similar situations and similar feelings. It is, I think her best novel. (I write without having read "Friends and Relations," her third novel.) It is not the most powerful. Nothing equals the intensity of the first section of "The House in Paris" or certain episodes in "The Death of the Heart." But she has succeeded as she has not elsewhere in being consistent in her feeling clear through to the end. The other novels, and many of the short stories, too suffer from a certain lack of balance. They begin brilliantly and end in anti-climax. This tendency to diminuendo has been all along her chief difficulty as a writer. She is likely to spend her treasure too soon. "The Last September" never aims very high and never promises very much, but it has no weaknesses. Miss Bowen has settled for less than she has subsequently been willing to settle for, and the result is excellent. People have been waiting for years for her to write an entirely good novel. This book, written nearly a quarter of a century ago, is her best yet. ERNEST JONES

Basic Book

AFRICAN SCULPTURE SPEAKS. By Ladislas Segy. A. A. Wyn. $7.50.

DESPITE its title this is an excellent book. Its value lies in its approach to the subject and the detail with which the matter is presented. A listing of the main divisions of the text may suggest the character of Segy's procedure. Part I considers the meaning and sources of African sculpture—Approach, Basic Concepts, African Cults Employing Sculptures. Part II develops the content of African art—Historical Background, Characteristic Forms, Stylistic Features. Part III relates African art and European civilization—Our Approach to African Art, The Plastic Language, African Art and Modern European Art, The Collector's Viewpoint. An appendix of more than 150 pages classifies fourteen style regions, each with numerous sub-locales. There are 276 illustrations of good quality, elaborate bibliographies, an index, and maps on the end-papers.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the author of this book, whose study of African sculpture began more than twenty-five years ago, has projected a full-length study of the field. He asks the important questions and in workman-like fashion sets about answering them. The writing is not distinguished, but it is clear. It cannot match Malraux's discussion of primitive art in "The Psychology of Art" for brilliance or intensity; but after a reading of Segy, Malraux's observations assume a new dimension. Although Malraux is more stimulating on the meaning to modern culture of the "discovery" of African art, his concept of this art, like Fraser's concept of primitive man before the advent of modern anthropology, is too much a generality. Segy shows its scope and its complexity in forms, in geography, and in time. He insists on the functions this sculpture was made to serve. His approach is fundamentally different from that implied in the question of what Picasso saw in these carvings some fifty years ago. For Picasso, form, once realized, "is there to live its own life." African sculpture likewise lives as form, but its makers had a less complicated intention. They attempted to charge tribal myths and symbols with emotion. Too often one



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feels that the modern sculptor, influenced by African work, yields up his art to the nature of wood grain. Exit sculpture. The African, on the contrary, saw the tree as an abode of spiritual forces, conditioning human fate. "When the tree is cut down," writes Segy, "a magical ceremony is performed to cope with its spirit. . . . Among certain tribes the man who ordered the sculpture from the magician had to participate in this ritual."

The full story of the relation of modern art to such primitive—in the sense of primary—art as that of Africa has yet to be written. Segy accepts the connection, I think, rather too blandly. For him *modern* man, not the African, is too much of a generality. Many moderns have found inspiration in African art, but the differences of result in Modigliani as against Picasso, and even in Picasso as against Braque, are quite as interesting and as important as the common denominators of such inspiration. Nevertheless, when a full coverage of this is some day attempted, Segy's work will of necessity be a part of its foundation. S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

AS SPECTACLE, the performance of the dancers, actors, and musicians of the village of Pliatan, Bali, now to be seen at the Fulton Theater, could hardly be more charming: the lovely faces and forms of the little girls who are its "stars," the exquisite costumes of the "serious" dancers, the equally exquisite but also fantastic and wonderfully humorous apparel and make-up of the clowns, the beauty of the décor in general, including the instruments of the gamelan or orchestra—all these, and all in motion, are a great pleasure to the eye. To the ear, of this Westerner at least, the music is more curious than beautiful, though it has melodies and it seems less strange than the Eastern music I have heard before, perhaps because the principal instruments, aside from the drums, are xylophones.

The idiom of the dancing is far more familiar than that of the music. The movements are mainly of the arms, the hands and fingers, the head, and the torso. The lower part of the body is not only hidden but rather narrowly confined (I am speaking here of the serious dancers; the clowns are unconfined). The lower body is remarkably controlled—the knees are almost continuously flexed and remarkable control is necessary—but even when the dancers move about it seems to function mainly as a base, a fulcrum, for the movements above. And some of the dances are done from a sitting position.

By far the most impressive number of the program I saw was the Classical Legong, a traditional dance which has been handed down for generations. The first section of it, as the program noted, is pure dance, and the whole of it seemed to me to have a purity and stature as art that none of the other dances achieved. Most of the others have been rather recently devised. They are interesting as examples of the work of dance-makers in the villages of Bali at the present time, and some of them, like the Bumblebee dance, are pretty and touching or, like The Barong, very amusing; but they did not seem to me to have the force or beauty of this ancient one.

The second half of the program was the more satisfying part. Its high point, artistically, was the Classical Legong, but The Barong, which ended the program, was delightful on other grounds. It represents a struggle between Good and Evil, but it is anything but solemn, for Good is incarnated in a mythical animal, the Barong, which is both gorgeous and funny, and Evil takes the forms of marvelously accoutered clowns. It is very gay and it reflects a view of life that makes Bali appear more than ever as a kind of earthly paradise. The impression is strengthened when we learn that there are nearly seven thousand gamelan orchestras and almost as many troupes of dancers and actors on that small island and that they are the pride and joy of their fellow-villagers—of whom a great many must have been at some point in their lives dancers, actors, or musicians and therefore sympathetic if critical spectators.

"Mr. Pickwick" (Plymouth Theater) is very mild entertainment. The production is pictorially attractive and the play in its own right is rather well con-

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structed. Necessarily, the Pickwickians' leisurely pursuit of knowledge is drastically foreshortened, and scenes and contexts have been changed around at a great rate, but these shifts are less disturbing than one might expect.

George Howe as Pickwick performs well, but he doesn't look like Pickwick—his features are sharp when they should be round. His three companions, who have little to do in this version, are badly cast and do their little woodenly. The other parts are better cast, and most of them are well done except for a tendency on the part of the players to condescend to the characters they are impersonating—which is the bane of most revivals.

Films

MANNY FARBER

"THE LEOPARD MAN," a reissued "B" (1942) showing with the rickety "King Kong," is a nerve-twitching whodunit giving the creepy impression that human beings and "things" are interchangeable and almost synonymous and that both are pawns of a bizarre and terrible destiny. A lot of surrealists like Cocteau have tried for the same supernatural effects, but while their scenes still seem like portraits in motion, Val Lewton's film shows a way to tell a story about people that isn't dominated by the activity, weight, size, and pace of the human figure. In one segment of the film a small frightened señorita walks beyond the edge of the border town and then back again, while her feelings and imagination keep shifting with the camera into the sagebrush, the darkness of an arroyo, crackling pebbles underfoot, and so on until you see her thick dark blood oozing under the front door of her house. All the psychological effects—fear and so on—were transferred to within the nonhuman components of the picture as the girl waited for some non-corporeal manifestation of nature, culture, or history to gobble her up. But more important in terms of movie invention, Lewton's use of multiple focus (characters are dropped or picked up as if by chance, while the movie goes off on odd tacks trying to locate a sound or a suspicion) and his lighter-than-air sense of pace

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created a terrifically plastic camera style. It put the camera eye on a curiously delicate wave length that responds to scenery as quickly as the mind, and gets inside of people instead of reacting only to surface qualities. This film still seems to be one of Hollywood's original gems—nothing impure in terms of cinema, nothing imitative about its style, and little that misses fire through a lack of craft.

"My Man and I" is a flag-waving love story; one of the worst. It has a multiplicity of themes, situations, and hokums that have been around in Saroyan-type writing since the first issue of *Story*, but it is generally about a Mexican field worker (Ricardo Montalban) —his-pure-in-heart character, his set of the "Encyclopedia Britannica," and his simple desire for a foothold in the U. S. A. The story, by Jack Leonard and John Fante, hews to an after-laughter-come-beers-and-then-tears routine: there is a comic-opera scene between his Mexican cronies, then a sentimental one in a bar with Montalban trying to reform his dypsoid girl friend (Shelley Winters), and finally a scene with a doublecrossing farmer (Wendell Corey); and the whole thing is repeated. Director William Wellman wastes plenty of footage (each embrace knocks off the hero's homburg, and we follow its journey on the floor), but sometimes he gives the nostalgic feeling of wandering back in memory trying to find the special streets, embittered characters, and cold lighting effects that probably made him the best hard-rock director of the thirties. Add the quiet acting (by Corey and Claire Trevor) of two spectacularly worn, unhappy meanies, and you find a reason for seeing the film.

It is no secret that the brightest and screwiest movies being made today are around the eight-minute subject of "eternal enmity" by some smart-aleck artists named Avery, Quimby, and McKimson. I will take up their animated cartoons ("Bugs Bunny," "Tom and Jerry," dogs, cats, tweedybirds) in a subsequent issue, but in the meantime the closest approach to their cheerily sadistic style and sharply timed humor can be found in Mitch Leisen's movie "Young Man with Ideas," which is quite a lot of fun because it searches in an unmerciful fashion for the same unique booby traps to make unsuspecting persons indignant, embarrassed, obsessive, or destructive. It opens on some negligible nonsense at a small-town country club (the spouse of the poorest and least appreciated law clerk gets drunk and tells off the firm's big shots) with Ruth Roman mauling her mimicry of drunkenness and Glenn Ford energetically over-acting as her Milquetoast husband. But then the story starts down an uncharted path that takes up the studying habits of law students, the fight of some Los Angeles dead beats against a vicious bill-collecting outfit, and the mistake of answering phones in a bungalow just vacated by a betting syndicate. Leisen never misses an opportunity to dispatch his movie into another street, office, or apartment in order to find one more locale to satirize (Leisen is a sort of slapstick decorator) and one more crass character trying for an illegal foothold in a foolish city. Except for Sheldon Leonard (in his favorite portrayal of a dismally inept Little Caesar) the actors are not funny; but the movie's humor is derived from Leisen's knowing how to keep his people fairly smart in dumb situations, sensitive in slapstick scenes, and just selfish enough when they are being their most virtuous.

Those of you who are sucked into theaters by the encomium-studded ads in daily newspapers will probably rush to see the following films. "Sudden

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Fear" ("one of the screen's all-time thrillers") is a garish tale of homicide with such original, unemphatic items as yowling cats, cars teetering around San Francisco's hilly streets, and Joan Crawford acting as if she were pushing her tormented psyche through the thickest mud. "The Big Sky" ("in a class with 'Mutiny on the Bounty'") shows a whiskey-laden keel boat being poled and pushed up the Missouri River. Cast with some amiably fearsome stars who act as if they had been coached by Al Capp, and saddled with a talkative Western plot, this film is not up to the talents of its director, Howard Hawks. "Ivanhoe" ("a rich, dramatic, action-filled picture") is informative on the subject of fighting with a mace and pike, but its polished actors are a bore, and the remnants of Scott's story are lost in the care that went into handsomely mounting the panoramas at the jousting fields and on the battlements. "The World in His Arms" shows how Alaska and Ann Blyth were maneuvered away from the Russians by Gregory Peck. It proves that director Raoul Walsh never makes routine melodrama dull, and never fails to fill it with handsome scenic bits and fast action scenes. "Monkey Business" sputters along with a lot of actors, monkeys, and humor in general becoming literally juvenile. "Dreamboat" is in the running with "The Washington Story" and Zsa Zsa Gabor for the sorriest movie mess of the year. "Just for You" betrays the ten-year-old secret that Crosby has lost his hair, most of his crooning voice, and any pleasure he once took in relaxing into the laziest and most easygoing actor in Hollywood.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

H. W. HEINSHEIMER, author of "Fanfare for 2 Pigeons" (Doubleday, $2.75), was connected with Universal Edition before he came to this country, then with Boosey and Hawkes in New York, and is now in charge of symphonic and dramatic repertory at G. Schirmer. He has seen and heard a lot; and much of what he tells is enlightening and important. Unfortunately he seems to have thought it wouldn't be interesting unless he made it funny; and this is unfortunate because humor, for him, is achieved by extravagance and exaggeration—often to the point of distortion and inaccuracy. The distortion doesn't matter when he is telling a funny story about Beecham; but it does matter when he is discussing opera in English and talks about American singers being trained "to parrot foreign sounds so that they can sing opera to American audiences in a language neither they nor their public

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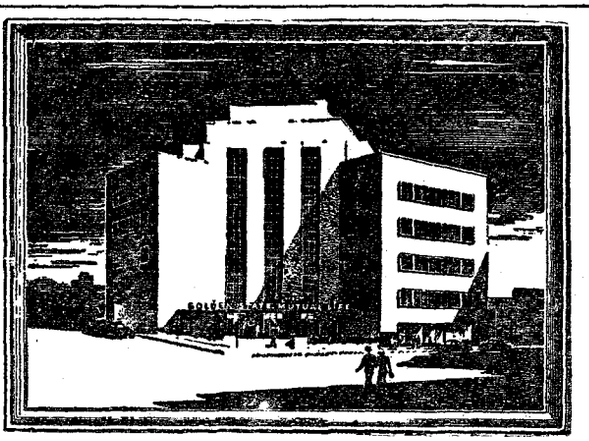

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understand," and specifically about Nadine Conner, in a performance of "Fidelio," being "visibly handicapped by singing words she didn't understand"—or "maybe she understood the words, but she did not feel the meaning behind them," and "what is more: the sounds Miss Conner produced were not at all the sounds Beethoven had set to music. . . . One had only to listen to a few of the native German singers in the cast to realize the striking difference." This not only grossly exaggerates the actual defects of Miss Conner's German, but leaves out of consideration how much worse the Metropolitan's German singers would mangle the English words in a performance of "Fidelio" in English, how much less they would understand the words and feel the meaning behind them, and how much less the sounds of the words would be the sounds Beethoven had set to music.

However, Mr. Heinsheimer is accurate as well as amusing when he describes, how an orchestra will pay $4,000 for "Rubevitz's performances of the Tchaikovsky Concerto at a pair of concerts but will be outraged by a proposed charge of $100 for rental of score and parts of a new symphony by a prominent American composer, and in the end will pay $40, which are divided between composer and publisher. Or when he demonstrates how this composer will receive, for a performance of his new piano sonata, approximately seventy-five cents out of the $15 paid by "Rubevitz" to ASCAP for all the copyright music played at his Carnegie Hall recital, at which the total receipts were $7,600 and the other expenses about $1,600.

His humor also points up an accurate description of the monopolization of the concert life of the country by the two giant managements. He concedes that they are right in claiming that their set-up of organized audiences for concert series has "provided music for millions at nominal cost," and "not only given their huge audiences the great stars of our time but . . . also enabled hundreds of young artists to get a hearing in communities who never heard their names before and would not have given them a chance to prove their worth . . . without that gentle but irresistible pressure from the front office." But he also points out that the giants' concert series in two thousand cities, towns, and villages make it almost impossible for an artist not on their list to get engagements; that the giants' power to "grant or deny an artist one hundred concert dates in a season can be the difference between success and oblivion"; and that they exercise similar power over the millions of listeners, determining what artists they will hear and what music these artists will perform. About financial practices which artists have been known to complain of—e.g., the collecting of the regular manager's commission on a reported fee of $350, after which the artist discovers from a member of the concert committee that the fee paid to the management had been $500—Mr. Heinsheimer says nothing, possibly because the managements are, as he observes, "nervous giants, allergic to criticism. . . . They like to think of themselves as national institutions, as pioneers who selflessly give their lives so that beauty may reign in Topeka. They are deeply hurt when a House Judiciary Subcommittee wants to investigate them for alleged monopolistic practices; and when Virgil Thomson accuses them . . . of standardizing the repertory at the level of the least cultivated cities in the chain they break out into tears."

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from opera; indeed he sees it as having already begun in the efflorescence of locally produced opera, old and new, in cities and universities all over the country. Actually this is only part of the efflorescence of all kinds of locally produced music that he has himself described at the beginning of his book; and if he singles out opera at the end it is simply because opera is his favorite form of music. And if he is excited to flamboyant language by everything from the worthless operas of Louis Gruenberg, George Antheil, and Robert Russell Bennett commissioned by the Juilliard School in the thirties to Virgil Thomson's distinguished "Four Saints" and "The Mother of Us All," it is simply because he lived through the "great operatic movement" in Europe between 1923 and 1938, and sees evidence of the beginning of a similar period in the productions of Menotti's operas and Kurt Weill's "Down in the Valley" throughout this country.

What becomes evident in all this is a lack of values and of discrimination. It is evident even in Mr. Heinsheimer's account of the European operatic movement—in the fact that one of his heroes is Alban Berg, whose "Wozzeck" is the product of fidelity to an inner expressive purpose, and the other is Kurt Weill, whose lack of any such purpose is evident in his facile use of a succession of any and all styles including that of Broadway musicals, and in whose "Down in the Valley" this use of borrowed material undictated by inner expressive necessity produces sheer absurdity. For Weill's method of writing this "American folk opera" is to have rural-folk characters sing their anguish and terror in expressively unrelated folk melodies separated from their own texts; and as if this weren't enough, when the man about to be hanged thinks with desperate longing of his girl, or she thinks similarly of him, each breaks into what in actual style—including Robert Russell Bennett style of orchestration—is a leading tenor's or soprano's number in a Broadway musical. The muddle-headedness which has caused this work to be taken seriously and produced all over the country doesn't fill me with the hope that it does Mr. Heinsheimer.

The crossword puzzle had to be omitted from this issue.—THE EDITORS.

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THE NEGRO CHOICE FOR PRESIDENT

SOMETHING has occurred in national politics which does not allow us in good conscience to stand aside and offer our blessings to all nominees as we did in 1948 when EBONY commented editorially: "There is mighty little difference between Dewey, Truman and Wallace when it comes to the racial question. All three are genuine friends of the Negro."

The same is not true in 1952. EBONY believes that for the first time since 1940, the Negro is faced with an out-and-out choice between two nominees who have demonstrated clearly and unmistakably that they stand at opposite poles on the vital problems of the Negro. On the one hand is a candidate who has in his actions and even in some of his words (in his less political-minded moments) defended and upheld Jim Crow. On the other is an honest, sincere liberal who has not just spoken out against all forms of racial discrimination but in every acid test has proven himself a fearless, forthright friend of the Negro.

Ike And His Army Background

EBONY chooses this moment to depart from its traditional nonpartisanship for a simple reason—we fear tremendously the cost to the nation and to Negroes of an administration led by a man whose qualifications for the nation's highest office is 42 years of military training. We are genuinely frightened by the prospect of a President who in 1948 testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee that Negroes are inferior and that the Army was justified in its Jim Crow practices. It is noteworthy that at the time 300 New England NAACP leaders joined in blasting General Dwight D. Eisenhower and expressing "opposition, disgust, disapproval and denial of the expressed statement of the General relative to the uneducated status of the Negro and his incapability for integration in the armed forces."

It is not that we do not like Ike, as a warm, well-meaning personality but rather that we are honestly apprehensive of a general in the White House, frightened lest with military thoroughness he obliterates all the many gains of the past 20 years, alarmed that the clock will be turned back to wipe out the greatest era of Negro advance in the history of America.

Stevenson Acts Rather Than Talks

OUR most haunted fears are that some Negroes—misled by the strange shenanigans of some of our power-hungry race politicos—will turn their backs on a man who has demonstrated unmistakably his feeling and friendship for Negroes. Being edited in Illinois, we here at EBONY have had full and ample opportunity to observe and test Governor Adlai Stevenson on the race front. We know him as a man who acts rather than talks. We have seen him fight stalwartly for a state FEPC and lose in every legislative session—simply because of Republican opposition. We saw his ability to take direct, daring and courageous action when he called out the National Guard to quell the Cicero riot despite hemming and hawing by other public officials. We know first hand his role in forcing Southern Illinois schools to drop Jim Crow under threat of losing state financial support.

We believe his view of civil rights—"I regard the right to earn one's living free from discrimination founded on race, color and religion as so fundamental a part of the heritage of all our citizens that the failure of the states to solve the problem clearly warrants a federal approach"—as a forthright, unequivocal statement by a true statesman, who has shown that he practices what he preaches.

And we are honestly appalled at the double talk and behind the scenes sniping directed at Stevenson by some race politicians. Having nothing to carp about in Stevenson's sterling record, they have directed their fire on his running mate, Alabama's Senator John Sparkman. Perhaps the Democrats could have made a better choice for their vice presidential candidate than a man whose past record on civil rights leaves something to be desired. On the other hand, he has supported federal aid to education, public housing and price and rent controls—all of paramount interest to Negroes. And we must consider the political facts of life too. A Southerner has been vice president for most of the last 20 years. We do not recall that Texas-born John Nance Garner diminished the greatness of President Roosevelt in the eyes of the Negro.

The Case Of Some Other Southerners

WE REFUSE to close the books on Sparkman's record, well knowing that time and men do change. For we have in our lifetime seen a former Ku Kluxer, Hugo L. Black, become the foremost liberal in the U. S. Supreme Court. We also recall the shrieks of horror by many race leaders when a man from Missouri, rumored to have once been a Klan member, Harry S. Truman, was nominated for Vice President. Today these same race leaders bemoan the failure of Truman to run for reelection and hail him as the Negro's greatest champion. And while speaking of vice-presidential nominees, it might be well for Negroes to recall the record of Republican Senator Richard Nixon, who voted against FEPC although he comes from the liberal Far West state of California.

These then are the men who encompass EBONY's fears. This is the choice—a choice so obvious and apparent that it would seem there would be no doubt, no confusion. But in these chaotic, topsy-turvy times, desperate men do desperate things for power. It is in these impelling circumstances that EBONY feels it must take its stand in selfish self-interest for our race and our nation.

With utmost urgency we entreat our readers to stand muster at the polls and pass this most important intelligence test of our times by voting for the unquestioned and rightful inheritor of the mantle of Lincoln and Roosevelt—Adlai Stevenson.

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